APHRODITE'S ENTRY INTO GREEK EPIC

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DEBORAH DICKMANN BOEDEKER

APHRODITE'S ENTRY INTO GREEK EPIC

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM E. J. BRILL MCMLXXIV

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BY

DEBORAH DICKMANN BOEDEKER

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ISBN 90 04 03946 5

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study is heavily indebted to the creative scholarly work of Gregory Nagy and Douglas Frame. Some of my errors have been alleviated by the criticism generously provided at various stages by Mary Lefkowitz and John Welch. I am particularly grateful to my husband for the constant encouragement and sense of perspective he has provided me during the course of research and writing. Finally, my friends S. B., L. C., D. F., L. M., G. N., R. S., and R. S. III provided the stimulus and support necessary for this study, and to them I gratefully dedicate my work.

INTRODUCTION

APHRODITE'S ORIGIN IN AN INDO-EUROPEAN TRADITION

The question of Aphrodite's origins, and of her original nature, has traditionally intrigued historians of Greek religion. From Herodotus to the present, many writers have connected her with the Near East. Several types of evidence are used to substantiate such a theory. First, as early as the Homeric and Hesiodic epics, Aphrodite's homeland is considered to be remote Cyprus, an appropriate meeting ground for Greek and Near Eastern cultures. More specifically, in aspects of her iconography, mythology, and cult, Aphrodite resembles the Asiatic Great Goddesses. In addition, several etymologies have been proposed which would connect Aphrodite's name with that of an Eastern goddess. As a result of these resemblances, historians of religion now commonly agree that Aphrodite came from the Semitic Near East and apparently entered the Greek world through Cyprus, where she was introduced by the Phoenicians.[1]

The 'Aphrodite question' should be re-examined, however, as Martin Nilsson cautiously suggests,[2] especially in the light of recent archaeological work in Cyprus. The evidence from excavations at Enkomi, Kition, and elsewhere[3] establishes that Mycenaean

[1] Among the most forceful exponents of the theory that Aphrodite originated in the Near East is Lewis Richard Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1896), vol. 2, Ch. 21 and 22, especially pp. 618-629. H. J. Rose, *Handbook of Greek Mythology*, fifth edition (London, Methuen, 1953), p. 122, generally follows Farnell, as does Charles Seltman, *The Twelve Olympians* (New York, Crowell, 1960), pp. 81-82. Walter F. Otto, *The Homeric Gods*, trans. Moses Hadas (New York, Pantheon, 1954), pp. 91-92, suggests that although Aphrodite is an Eastern import to Greece, she may have replaced a native goddess. This view is taken by W. R. Roscher as well, in his article on Aphrodite in the *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1884-86), vol. 1, pp. 390-395, pp. 404-405. Ulrich von Wilamowitz - Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1931), vol. I, pp. 95-98, argues that the proper name Κύπρις indicates the goddess's Eastern origin. In his *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, second edition (München, Beck, 1955), vol. 1, pp. 519-520, Martin P. Nilsson tentatively accepts the theory of Aphrodite's Eastern origin, with little discussion of the issues involved and with the comment that a new study of the evidence is due.

[2] Nilsson, *ibidem*.

[3] Conclusions drawn from the excavations of these and other Late Bronze Age Cypriote sites are summarized by Vassos Karageorgis, *The Ancient Civilization of Cyprus* (Geneva, Nagel, 1969), esp. pp. 135-150.

Greeks had settled in Cyprus by the late Bronze Age, long before the Phoenician presence on the island.[1] Phoenicians did not colonize Cyprus until the early Iron Age (about 1000 B.C.), during a period of minimal contact between that island and mainland Greece.[2] If Aphrodite was introduced to the Greeks during this period, as is often maintained, it is unlikely that her cult could have spread from Cyprus to the rest of the Greek world until contact was resumed during the archaic period. But Aphrodite is well established in archaic Greek epic; indeed, the complex system of her name-epithet formulas suggests that she was known to the poetic tradition for a relatively long time.[3] In terms of historical probability it is therefore unlikely that the Phoenicians introduced Aphrodite to the Greeks in Cyprus.[4]

A native Cypriote origin for Aphrodite is also improbable, as the epigraphical evidence indicates.[5] Although many of the native

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[1] Karageorgis, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-67 and *passim*. The same conclusions are reached by other historians of Cyprus, cf. H. W. Catling, 'Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age,' vol. 2 part 2, Ch. 22 (b) of the revised *Cambridge Ancient History* (third edition), edd. I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, and N. G. L. Hammond; printed in fascicle #43, 'Cyprus in the Neolithic and Bronze Age Periods,' (Cambridge, University Press, 1966), esp. pp. 64-70. Cf. also Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, University Press, 1940, reprinted 1972), vol. 1, pp. 31-35 and *passim*, and H. D. Purcell, *Cyprus* (New York, Praeger, 1968), pp. 79-87.

[2] Apparently the decline of the mainland Greek cities, attributed to invasions of the 'Sea Peoples,' led to a heavy influx of Achaeans to Cyprus about 1200 B.C. (Late Cypriote III), cf. Catling, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65. The Greek cities on Cyprus experienced a parallel decline, perhaps at the hands of the same invaders, and were further devastated by a severe earthquake early in the eleventh century. Later in this century the once prosperous Greek-Cypriote cities of Enkomi and Kition were abandoned and new settlements on the coast were established, notably at Salamis (cf. Karageorgis, *op. cit.*, pp. 143, 148-149). It was at this time of decreased Greek influence on the island that the Phoenicians (possibly remnants of the invading 'Sea Peoples' of the previous century) apparently began to make their presence felt in Cyprus (cf. Purcell, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86).

[3] Cf. below, pp. 19-20 and notes.

[4] The same argument would apply to a theory that Aphrodite was introduced to the Greeks at Ras Shamra or other Mycenaean settlements on the Syro-Palestinian coast; these areas too lost contact with mainland Greece at the end of the Bronze Age.

[5] To my knowledge, the theory of a native Cypriote origin has not been formally proposed. Hill, however, in his emphatic rebuttal of Aphrodite's Phoenician or Mesopotamian origin, suggests that there may have been a primitive Cypriote or Anatolian-Cypriote 'Aphrodite' worshipped on the island; he does not indicate whether he believes she was known to the Cypriotes as 'Aphrodite' (Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66, 69-71).

Cypriote inscriptions deal with sacral material, the goddess's name is not attested in Cypriote signaries before the fourth century,[1] long after the island was Hellenized. The Eteo-Cypriotes apparently learned of Aphrodite from the Greeks, just as they learned of Zeus and Apollo. If Cyprus is really her homeland, as the ancient tradition maintains, Aphrodite was probably introduced there by the Mycenaean Greeks. After a period of relatively isolated evolution, which would have included a certain amount of assimilation to the Eastern goddesses, Aphrodite may have been reintroduced from Cyprus to the rest of the Greek world.

Conflicting with the theory of Aphrodite's Greek origin is the fact that her name is not attested in Mycenaean Greek. This omission may indicate that the writers of Linear B did not know Aphrodite during the Bronze Age. But our knowledge of Mycenaean Greek is so fragmentary that, as John Chadwick suggests, the absence of Aphrodite's name may be 'mere chance.'[2]

The evidence of ancient writers is sometimes cited to 'document' the Near Eastern origin of Aphrodite's Cypriote worship.[3] Herodotus, for example, traces her cult on Cyprus to the worship of Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία in Ascalon, on the coast of Palestine (1.105). Similarly, Pausanias says that Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία was first worshipped by the Assyrians, and that her cult spread next to the Paphians on Cyprus and to the Phoenicians in Ascalon (1.14.7). Elsewhere, however, Pausanias connects Aphrodite's temple at Paphos with mainland Greece, in the legend that the Arcadian Agapenor, returning from Troy, founded the city of Paphos and the temple of Aphrodite there (8.5.2)[4]. Archaeological evidence generally tends to support the foundation legends which connect several Cypriote cities, including Paphos, with Mycenaean settlements.[5]

These conflicting traditions about the origins of Aphrodite's worship in Cyprus can perhaps be unravelled by a two-part explanation. The first part concerns the identity of Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία, for

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[1] T. B. Mitford, *Studies in the Signaries of South-Western Cyprus* (University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin Supplement No. 10, 1961), p. 41.

[2] John Chadwick, *The Decipherment of Linear B*, second edition (Cambridge, University Press, 1970), p. 124.

[3] E.g. Farnell, *loc. cit.* (p. 1, note 1).

[4] Cf. also Pausanias 8.53.7, where Agapenor's daughter Laodice is said to have founded a temple of Paphian Aphrodite at Tegea.

[5] Cf. Catling, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

this is the name that Herodotus and Pausanias specifically use in referring to cults of a goddess in Ascalon and Assyria. From very early times both Near Eastern and Greek mythographers tended to identify the gods of one culture with those of another.[1] This phenomenon is particularly common in Herodotus, who alludes, for example, to the worship of Ζεὺς καθάρσιος in Lydia (1.44) and of Athena at Sais in Egypt (2.175). Herodotus further states that Dionysus and Aphrodite Ourania are the only gods worshipped by the Arabs, who call them by the names *Orotal* and *Alilat* (3.8). In this case, as in others where the native name of the deity is included with the name of the Greek 'equivalent' (e.g. 1.132, where *Mitra* is given as the Persian name of Aphrodite), it is clear that Herodotus is identifying the figures of different pantheons with those of his own. No doubt he has done the same thing in speaking of the temple of Aphrodite Ourania at Ascalon (1.105).

The reason for the identification of a non-Greek divinity with a Greek god is no doubt that in some way their functions are similar. Aphrodite's cult title Οὐρανία suggests a celestial function, of course, and other elements in her worship indicate that she may have originated as a sky goddess.[2] The Great Goddesses of the Near East generally had celestial functions too, as evidenced in their iconography and cult titles.[3] Their mutual association with the sky could thus provide a basis for identifying Aphrodite Ourania with a goddess like Astarte 'Queen of Heaven' or Ishtar 'daughter of Anu (the Mesopotamian Sky-god).'

Secondly, the ancient tradition that Aphrodite came from the Near East may be an example of the tendency to attribute foreign origins to early elements of Greek culture which, with the passage of time, appeared somehow exotic.[4] Dionysus would be the prime example of this tendency: although he was old enough in Greek

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[1] Cf. for example the paraphrasing of the mythographer Sanchuniathon of Beirut by Philo of Byblus in his *Phoenician History*. Philo's adaptations are evaluated by P. Walcot, *The Theogony and the Near East* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1966), pp. 17-18.

[2] Cf. below, pp. 14-17.

[3] Cf. Farnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 629-630. Farnell believes that Aphrodite's title Οὐρανία is "the literal translation for the Semitic title 'Meleket Aschamaim,' 'the queen of the heavens,' " which was applied to Astarte. For Ishtar's connection with the Mesopotamian Sky-god, cf. E. O. James, *The Worship of the Sky-God* (London, Athlone, 1963), p. 23.

[4] The existence of such a tendency was suggested to me by Professor Gregory Nagy.

religion to appear in Linear B, Greek writers frequently associated him with foreign places, especially in the East, where his orgiastic worship seemed to be 'at home.'[1]

Francis Vian outlines another such example in his interesting study of Theban foundation legends.[2] He shows that the stories about Cadmus and his foundation of Thebes are patently Indo-European, and therefore should be attributed to the Greeks themselves. The ancient historians nevertheless make Cadmus a Phoenician who migrated to Greece. Like Cadmus, Aphrodite is traditionally connected with the Phoenicians. The reason for this may be that the stories of Cadmus' and Aphrodite's 'foreign origins' were formulated at a time when the Greeks viewed the Phoenicians as typical 'foreigners.'[3]

In certain aspects of cult and iconography, the similarities between Aphrodite and the Great Goddesses, especially Astarte, are not to be disputed. But at times these resemblances have been overestimated and, I believe, misinterpreted. Lewis Richard Farnell, who has argued most forcibly for Aphrodite's Eastern origin, cites much important evidence for the resemblances between Aphrodite and the Great Goddesses in historical times.[4] But in his interpretation of these resemblances Farnell does not allow for independent parallel developments of similar features, or for assimilations between figures who differ in their origins. Cult prostitution, for example, is attested in the worship of some Eastern fertility goddesses and in several cults of Aphrodite; Farnell assumes a single common source for the practice, even though it appears in various different forms.[5] Likewise, since Aphrodite and Astarte (to

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[1] In the *Bacchae*, for example, Euripides knows that Dionysus was born at Thebes, but his time spent in Asia Minor is greatly emphasized, cf. lines 13-16, 64-68, and *passim*. In the first Homeric *Hymn*, the birthplace of Dionysus is said to be Mount Nysa, τηλοῦ Φοινίκης, σχεδὸν Αἰγύπτοιο ῥοάων (*Hymn* 1.9).

[2] Francis Vian, *Les origines de Thèbes: Cadmos et les Spartes* (Paris, Klincksieck, 1963), esp. pp. 76 and 243. It should be noted that Vian (pp. 141-145) accepts the theory of a foreign origin for Aphrodite, despite her intimate connections with Cadmus and his family in the foundation legends of Thebes, where she was apparently considered the γένους προμάτωρ (Aeschylus, *Septem* 140).

[3] This is the opinion of Martin P. Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (Berkeley, Univ. of California Press, 1932), pp. 126-127.

[4] Farnell, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 626-630.

[5] Farnell, *op. cit.*, p. 628. Farnell's notes supply the Greek sources for the practice of cult prostitution in connection with Aphrodite and the Eastern goddesses.

name but two examples) were represented at times by aniconic sacred stones, Farnell concludes that originally they must have been similar goddesses.[1] Such arguments are competently rebutted by George Hill in his history of Cyprus and need no further comment here.[2]

Certainly, however, there was direct and specific Eastern influence on some representations of Aphrodite. She shares a number of attributes with Astarte, for example, including the dove, tortoise, ram, and possibly the turret crown.[3] Such elements could have resulted from direct Phoenician influence, particularly at Cyprus. The mixture of Greek and Oriental motifs typical of Cypriote art[4] would naturally be extended to Aphrodite, especially since she was assimilated to Astarte on Cyprus in other respects as well.[5]

If Aphrodite is Indo-European in origin, as I believe, the evidence for her inherited character must be linguistic rather than archaeological, for there is no inherited Indo-European artistic or iconographic tradition. Archaeological evidence, essential as it is, can provide only an argument for the historical probability of Aphrodite's Greek origin; positive evidence is still lacking. But if the name 'Αφροδίτη is Indo-European, then the goddess's Greek origin is more probable.

Many etymologies have been proposed for 'Αφροδίτη, including several which link the goddess with her supposed prototypes in the Near East. Hommel long ago suggested that 'Αφροδίτη is simply a Greek mispronunciation of the Phoenician divine name *Aštoret* (Astarte),[6] and his theory has found some support.[7] More recently

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[1] Farnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 670-671.

[2] Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

[3] Farnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 675, 685, and *passim*. Aphrodite's connection with a turret crown, as shown on a double stater coined by Nicocles of Paphos, is given a very different explanation by M. R. James, 'On the History and Antiquities of Paphos,' *JHS* 9 (1888), p. 187. James thinks that the turret crown refers to a historical fortification of Aphrodite's city of Paphos, for which there is corresponding epigraphical evidence.

[4] For this early Orientalizing period in Greek art, cf. Karageorgis, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-140.

[5] This assimilation is especially evident in their connection with a young consort. On Cyprus the Semitic Adonis was apparently confused with the consort of the Indo-European Dawn-goddess, cf. below, pp. 66-67.

[6] F. Hommel, *Neue Jahrbuch für classische Philologie* 125 (1882), p. 176.

[7] Nilsson, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 519, considers Hommel's thesis to be possible, in view of the extensive sound-changes attested when the Phoenician names of the letters of the alphabet were borrowed by the Greeks.

Hubert Grimme has offered a refined version of Hommel's hypothesis, postulating two intermediate (but unattested) stages of pronunciation to bridge the phonological gap between *Astarte* and 'Αφροδίτη.[1] Still it is necessary to conclude with Farnell that 'philological analogies are wanting.'[2]

Silvio Ferri suggests that 'Αφροδίτη is a corruption of an unattested form such as **a Phrygite*, which would indicate the goddess's origin among the Phrygians.[3] Her real name, Ferri suggests, is **Venes* or the like, as reflected in the name of the son, Αἰνείας (**a Venes*). According to Ferri's hypothesis, a Phrygian tribe brought the name *Venes* to Etruria, where it evolved into the Latin *Venus*.

Also connected with the Etruscans, but somewhat less fantastic philologically, is M. Hammerström's suggestion that 'Αφροδίτη is related to the Etruscan form *(e)prθni*.[4] This word, which names a high Etruscan office, is supposed to be cognate with Greek πρύτανις, a form which does not show the prothetic vowel attested in *(e)prθnis* and 'Α-φροδίτη. Hammerström would derive these three words from an unattested Mediterranean form meaning 'king.' 'Αφροδίτη therefore would mean 'Queen' or 'Mistress,' a name suggesting the goddess's original wide-ranging importance. There remains, however, the difficulty of equating 'Α-φροδ-ίτη with *(e)-pr θ-ni* or πρύτ-ανις, especially since parallel sound-changes in Greek and Etruscan are not adduced.

Jean Przyluski analyzes 'Αφροδίτη as a compound name, related to what he considers her double function as fertility goddess and marine goddess.[5] The first element would be 'Αφρώ, a hypocoristic Greek divine name attested in Nicander (*Al.* 406). Following Benveniste,[6] Przyluski believes that 'Αφρώ is not an Indo-European name, but that it originated in the Mediterranean pantheon. The same word, according to Benveniste, gave rise to the Latin month-

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[1] Hubert Grimme, 'Hethitisches im griechischen Wortschatze,' *Glotta* 14 (1925) 13-25, pp. 17-18.

[2] Farnell, *op. cit.*, p. 619 note *a*.

[3] Silvio Ferri, 'L'inno omerico a Afrodite e la tribu anatolica degli Otrusi,' *Studi in onore di Luigi Castiglioni* (Firenze, Sansoni, 1960), pp. 293-307.

[4] M. Hammerström, 'Griechisch-etruskische Wortgleichungen,' *Glotta* 11 (1921) 211-217, pp. 214-216.

[5] Jean Przyluski, 'Ardvisūr et Aphrodite,' *RHR* 109 (1934) 149-154, pp. 151-154.

[6] Émile Benveniste, 'Trois étymologies latines,' *BSL* 32 (1931) 68-85, pp. 71-72.

name *Aprīlis*,[1] via a hypothetical Etruscan form **apru(n)*. Because *Aprīlis* is the name of a spring month, Przyluski concludes that Ἀφρώ must have been a goddess of vegetation and reproduction.

Przyluski relates the second element of Ἀφρο-δίτη to a 'Creto-Phoenician' sea goddess **Deti*. Her name is reflected in Greek, he suggests, by Θέτις and Τηθύς, and by the cult title Δαῖτις. An Artemis Δαῖτις was worshipped at Ephesus, where her cult statue was bathed in the sea; Aphrodite Δαῖτις is also attested at Ephesus, in a dedication from the third century after Christ. According to Przyluski, the two non-Indo-European names Ἀφρώ and **Deti* are combined in Ἀφροδίτη, who is therefore a composite fertility and sea goddess. This analysis is ingenious but contrived, and is too little supported by evidence to have convinced other writers.[2]

The Indo-European etymologies which have been proposed for Ἀφροδίτη likewise divide the name into two parts. Paul Kretschmer maintains that the word is compounded of ἀφρός 'sea-foam' and *ὁδίτη 'wanderer' (cf. the attested masculine form ὁδίτης).[3] Kretschmer's etymology formally relates the name Ἀφροδίτη to the Hesiodic story of the birth of Aphrodite (*Theogony* 188-206). The passage cited in this connection preserves two attestations of ἀφρός, used in reference to the 'sea-foam' which gathered around the testicles of Ouranos after his castration by Kronos.

> μήδεα δ' ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἀποτμήξας ἀδάμαντι
> κάββαλ' ἀπ' ἠπείροιο πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ,
> ὣς φέρετ' ἂμ πέλαγος πουλὺν χρόνον, ἀμφὶ δὲ λευκὸς
> ἀ φ ρ ὸ ς ἀπ' ἀθανάτου χροὸς ὤρνυτο· τῷ δ' ἔνι κούρη
> ἐθρέφθη· πρῶτον δὲ Κυθήροισιν ζαθέοισιν
> ἔπλητ', ἔνθεν ἔπειτα περίρρυτον ἵκετο Κύπρον.
> ἐκ δ' ἔβη αἰδοίη καλὴ θεός, ἀμφὶ δὲ ποίη
> ποσσὶν ὕπο ῥαδινοῖσιν ἀέξετο· τὴν δ' Ἀφροδίτην
> [ἀφρογενέα τε θεὰν καὶ ἐυστέφανον Κυθέρειαν]
> κικλήσκουσι θεοί τε καὶ ἀνέρες, οὕνεκ' ἐν ἀ φ ρ ῷ
> θρέφθη·
>
> (*Theogony* 188-198)

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[1] Cf. the Greek month-name Ἄφριος.

[2] Cf. Pierre Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: Histoire des mots* (Paris, Klincksieck, 1968-), vol. 1, p. 148 *s.v.* Ἀφροδίτη.

[3] Paul Kretschmer, 'Zum pamphylischen Dialekt,' *KZ* 33 (1895) 258-272, pp. 267-268. Ancient folk-etymologies also connected the name Ἀφροδίτη with ἀφρός, cf. *Theogony* 195-198 and Plato, *Cratylus* 406 C-D.

Kretschmer's methodology here is sound: the epic contexts of a word often provide evidence of its origins. Not only do the Homeric and Hesiodic epics provide the oldest Greek available in abundance, but the special nature of epic language tends to preserve elements from much earlier periods. Epic is therefore a logical place to look for the oldest meanings and associations of a word.

The conservative and traditional nature of oral epic diction is now well established, thanks to the work of Milman Parry and Albert Lord.[1] Others have shown that Greek epic itself is heir to a pre-Greek Indo-European poetic tradition.[2] Drawing on this knowledge, the authors of several recent studies have fruitfully applied the techniques of formula analysis to help determine the Indo-European origins and subsequent semantic developments of hitherto problematic Greek words.[3] These studies demonstrate that a collocation of words or themes in epic diction can preserve a significance which had become obsolete in the faster-changing spoken language.

The Hesiodic passage which describes Aphrodite as a 'sea-foam wanderer' therefore might give a logical foundation to Kretschmer's ἀφρός + ὁδίτη etymology. The form *ὁδίτη is not overtly attested in this passage as ἀφρός is (in lines 191 and 197), but the description of her voyage to Cyprus and Cythera could sufficiently establish Aphrodite as a 'wanderer' (cf. the use of the verbs ἔπλητ' and ἵκετο in line 193).

A more serious problem than the absence of *ὁδίτη, however, is the atypical nature of the passage to which Kretschmer's etymology is related. The Ouranos-Kronos succession story, with the resulting birth of Aphrodite, is unique in Greek epic, and may reflect the influence of Near Eastern succession myths.[4] In any case, the

[1] Milman Parry's collected writings in *The Making of Homeric Verse*, ed. Adam Parry (Oxford, Clarendon, 1971). Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass.; Harvard, 1960).

[2] Cf. esp. Rüdiger Schmitt, *Indogermanische Dichtersprache* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1967) and Gregory Nagy, *Comparative Studies in Greek and Indic Meter* (Cambridge, Mass.; Harvard, 1974).

[3] Ann Louise Bergren, *The Poetics of a Formulaic Process: Etymology and Usage of* πεῖραρ *in Homer and Archaic Poetry* (Diss. Harvard 1973); Douglas Gordon Frame, The Origins of Greek ΝΟΥΣ (Diss. Harvard 1971); Leonard Charles Muellner, *The meaning of Homeric* ΕΥΧΟΜΑΙ *through its formulas* (Diss. Harvard 1973). Cf. also Nagy, *op. cit.*, for a thorough analysis of the etymology and meanings of the formula κλέος ἄφθιτον.

[4] Cf. Martin L. West, *Hesiod: Theogony* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1966), pp. 211-213, for a discussion of the problem and a selected bibliography. The question of how a Hittite-Hurrian succession myth might have been known

Hesiodic birth story stands in opposition to the standard genealogy of Aphrodite. Elsewhere in archaic Greek poetry she is always a 'daughter of Zeus.'[1] A more satisfactory explanation of Aphrodite's name, one which relates to her more typical functions in epic, can be drawn from an etymology proposed independently by Ernst Maass and Vittore Pisani.

Like Kretschmer, Maass argues for a connection between Ἀφροδίτη and ἀφρός, but he analyzes the name as ἀφρός 'foam' + *δίτη 'bright.'[2] The unattested form *δίτη would be derived from the root **dei-* 'shine.' Citing contexts where ἀφροδίτη apparently means non-erotic 'beauty' or 'charm' of appearance or speech, Maass concludes that ἀφροδίτη existed as a genuine abstract noun, not merely a metonymy, meaning 'beauty.' He refers to examples in Greek and other languages where adjectives like 'white' or 'brilliant' obviously mean 'beautiful.' Maass suggests that 'white foam,' ἀφρο-δίτη, could be used to infer the notion of beauty, as do phrases like 'white snow/moonlight/milk,' etc.

Examples of the 'abstract' use of ἀφροδίτη are all fifth century or later, however, and are probably extensions in meaning of Aphrodite's name rather than independent abstracts. Moreover, I can find no context in Greek where ἀφρός is overtly associated with beauty. The metaphor 'bright foam' for 'beauty' is evidently somewhat strained.

Vittore Pisani proposes the same ἀφρός + *δίτη analysis of the name, but supports his etymology with evidence very different from that of Maass.[3] Pisani's explanation of the name arises as part of his interpretation of the Ouranos-Kronos succession myth (*Theogony* 167-206). He considers that this passage is in the Greek reflex of a 'pre-Indo-European' myth, in which the primeval stone Sky-god is replaced by the new Sky-god of light and rain. When the stone Sky-god is broken (or castrated) there appears a goddess of

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to the author of the *Theogony* is discussed by William Sale, 'Aphrodite in the *Theogony*,' *TAPA* 92 (1961) 508-521, pp. 515-516 and *passim*, and by P. Walcot, *op. cit.* (p. 4, n. 1.), pp. 16-19 and 46-47.

[1] E.g. in the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, the *Hymns* to Apollo and to Aphrodite, Διὸς θυγάτηρ is a fixed epithet of Aphrodite. Similarly, Sappho 1.2 LP addresses Aphrodite as παῖ Δίος.

[2] Ernst Maass, 'Aphrodite und die hl. Pelagia,' *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* 27 (1911) 457-468.

[3] Vittore Pisani, 'Âkmon e Dieus,' *Archivio glottologico italiano* 24 (1930) 65-83, pp. 65-73.

light, akin to the Dawn or the Rainbow. In the Greek version of the myth, she is Aphrodite.

Like Maass, Pisani derives the second element of the name, *δίτη, from the Indo-European root **dei-* 'shine.' The morphology of *δίτη would be parallel to Indic *dīti* 'brilliant.'[1] The same root **dei-* is reflected in many Greek words, including the epic verb δέαται 'appear,' the adjective δῖος, and the name Ζεύς (genitive Διός). Moreover, in Greek inscriptions several names are attested with forms very similar to *δίτη: Lesbian Δίτα and Thessalian Δίτας (explained as ΔίϜιτας).[2] If these names are based on the root **dei-*, as seems likely, then they could be added to many other Greek names whose meaning is 'bright,' such as Αἴγλη, Φαέθων, or Φαίδρα. Brilliance is of course a special characteristic of Aphrodite in epic, as indicated for example by her epithets δῖα (also derived from **dei-*) and χρυσέη.[3]

Pisani identifies the first element of the compound, ἀφρο-, with ἀφρός. The meaning of the form in 'Αφρο-δίτη, however, would not be 'foam' but 'cloud,' as indicated by Pisani's interpretation of the 'pre-Indo-European' myth, where the goddess emerges in the sky as the new light breaks through. The apparent cognates of ἀφρός, such as Indic *abhrá-*, Avestan *awra-*, and Latin *imber*, generally mean 'cloud' or 'rain.'[4] The Indo-European root of all these forms could have signified simply their common element 'moisture.' In Greek, ἀφρός could have developed the specialized meaning 'foam,' while νέφος, which apparently derives from the same root, **nebh-*/ **n̥bh-*,[5] was limited to the meaning 'cloud.' In Pisani's scheme then, 'Αφρο-δίτη is the 'bright cloud' that emerged when Ouranos (the

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[1] Cf. Émile Benveniste, *Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européan*, second edition (Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1935), p. 166, for the probable morphology of Indic *dīti* from the root **dei-* + suffix *-$ə_1$- + double enlargement *-t-ei-*.

[2] Cf. Maass, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

[3] For the significance of the epithet δῖα in connection with Aphrodite and other figures, cf. below, pp. 28-29.

[4] So Émile Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, fourth edition (Heidelberg, Winter, 1950), p. 106 *s.v.* ἀφρός. Chantraine, *op. cit.* (p. 8 n. 2), p. 148 *s.v.* ἀφρός hesitates to accept the relationship between ἀφρός and *abhrá-* etc. because of the difference in meaning. Rather he tends to agree with the etymology proposed by Antoine Meillet, 'Grec ἀφρός,' *BSL* 31 (1931) 51-52, which suggests that ἀφρός is cognate with Armenian *p'rp'ur* 'foam.' Hjalmar Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1966) vol. 1, p. 197 *s.v.* ἀφρός, concludes that the etymology of ἀφρός is still unclear.

[5] Boisacq, *op. cit.*, p. 106 *s.v.* ἀφρός.

primeval stone Sky-god of the original succession myth) was replaced by his son Kronos (the new bright Sky-god).

Although Pisani's 'pre-Indo-European myth' is based on very tenuous comparative evidence, his etymology is well-founded. Epic diction provides substantial support for his analysis of 'Αφροδίτη as 'bright cloud.' First, a very close semantic parallel to ἀφρός + *δίτη is attested in the Hesiodic phrase λευκὸς ἀφρός (*Theogony* 190-191), used of the 'bright foam' (or 'cloud'?) around the testicles of Ouranos, from which Aphrodite emerged. In addition, clouds are thematically related to Aphrodite in the *Iliad*. She hides Paris in a cloud (ἠέρι πολλῇ, Γ 381) to protect him from Menelaus.[1] Less directly, but nonetheless certainly connected with Aphrodite, is the golden dewy cloud (νέφος, Ξ 343; νεφέλην, Ξ 350) which hides Zeus and Hera during their lovemaking on Mount Ida.[2] So clouds are connected with Aphrodite in both of her major roles in epic: as protector of Trojan heroes and as goddess of love.

Two philological problems must be considered, however, concerning the etymological relationship between ἀφρός and 'Αφροδίτη. The first difficulty is that ἀφρός never means 'cloud' or 'vapor' in attested Greek.[3] Even in the *Theogony* passage describing Aphrodite's birth, the context on which Pisani bases his ἀφρός + *δίτη etymology, λευκὸς ἀφρός may mean 'bright *foam*' rather than 'bright *cloud*.' The sixth Homeric *Hymn* preserves the only other archaic epic reference to Aphrodite's emergence from the sea:

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[1] In E 314-315, Aphrodite seems almost to be a 'bright cloud' as she hides Aeneas from Diomedes:

ἀμφὶ δ' ἑὸν φίλον υἱὸν ἐχεύατο πήχεε λευκώ,
πρόσθε δέ οἱ πέπλοιο φαεινοῦ πτύγμ' ἐκάλυψεν . . .

[2] Hera has just asked Aphrodite for her help in seducing Zeus (Ξ 187-223). Somewhat more subtly, Hera has come to resemble Aphrodite in several aspects. Cf. pp. 72, 77-78 for a discussion of some of these resemblances.

[3] In fact ἀφρός seldom refers to 'sea-foam.' The word, rare in epic, is used to imply extreme vitality, sometimes even on a cosmic level. ἀφρός is used of the cosmic river Okeanos, for example, flowing around Thetis' home under the sea (Σ 403). The river Scamander is described as μορμύρων δ' ἀφρῷ τε καὶ αἵματι as it attacks Achilles (Φ 325). ἀφρός is also used in similes comparing three major heroes to 'foaming' entities. In E 599, Diomedes reacts to the approach of Hector as he would react to a foaming river. In his single combat with Aeneas, Achilles is like a wounded lion, roused to fight, with foam around his teeth (Υ 168). Similarly, when Herakles faces Ares, he is compared to a fighting boar foaming at the mouth (*Shield of Herakles* 389). These are the only attestations of ἀφρός in archaic epic, other than the three passages discussed in the text in connection with the emergence of Aphrodite from the sea.

Αἰδοίην, χρυσοστέφανον, καλὴν Ἀφροδίτην
ᾄσομαι, ἣ πάσης Κύπρου κρήδεμνα λέλογχεν
εἰναλίης, ὅθι μιν Ζεφύρου μένος ὑγρὸν ἀέντος
ἤνεικεν κατὰ κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης
ἀφρῷ ἔνι μαλακῷ·

(*Hymn* 6.1-5)

In this passage too ἀφρῷ could mean 'foam' rather than 'cloud' or the more general 'moisture.' If Ἀφροδίτη is derived from ἀφρός, it is difficult to explain the apparent meaning of the compound 'bright *cloud*' in terms of the simplex 'foam.'

The Cretan dialect variant Ἀφορδίτα presents a second difficulty for the analysis of Ἀφροδίτη as ἀφρός + *δίτη.[1] Benveniste maintains that a derivation from ἀφρός cannot explain the variant form, and concludes that the name Ἀφροδίτη is not Indo-European.[2]

A single explanation can resolve both these philological problems. ἀφρός and Ἀφρο-δίτη/Ἀφορ-δίτα may be the Greek reflexes of two different forms of the root **n̥bh-*.[3] Apparently ἀφρός is a thematic noun derived from thematic **n̥bhro-*. The element Ἀφρο-/Ἀφορ-, on the other hand, represents the athematic zero grade of the root, **n̥bhr̥-*.[4] So although the two forms are closely related, they are not exact cognates, but represent different developments of a common root. It is not necessary then to attribute the specialized meaning 'foam' to the form Ἀφρο-/Ἀφορ-, which may indeed mean 'cloud' or 'vapor,' as the evidence from epic indicates.[5]

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[1] Benveniste, 'Trois étymologies latines,' p. 71, also cites a Cypriote variant Ἀφοροδίτα. Other names attested with an anaptyctic vowel, parallel to this form, include Ἑρεμῆς (an exceptional Attic form of Ἑρμῆς), the Elean spelling Σαλαμόνᾱ (Σαλμώνη), and Thessalian Ἀσκαλαπιός. These examples are given in Carl Darling Buck, *Introduction to the Study of Greek Dialects*, revised edition (Boston, Ginn, 1928), p. 41.

[2] Benveniste, 'Trois étymologies latines,' pp. 71-72, quoted in Przyluski, *op. cit.* (note 34), pp. 152.

[3] I am grateful to Professor Gregory Nagy for his suggestion that the two forms may not be exact cognates.

[4] Cf. the parallel athematic development of a zero grade in other Greek forms, e.g. πατρο-φόνος (cf. the Indic reflex *pitr-* of the same zero grade), as noted in Eduard Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, vol. 1 (München, Beck, 1939), p. 440.3. νέφος in turn would be derived from the *e*-grade of the root, **nebh-*.

[5] Perhaps this form ἀφρο-/ἀφορ- was borrowed in Etruscan as **apru(n)*, and gave rise to Latin *Aprīlis* (cf. above, pp. 7-8). *Aprīlis* would then be the 'rainy' or 'cloudy' month. The hypocoristic Ἀφρώ could be derived from the same form ἀφρο-/ἀφορ-, with the productive -ω suffix; of course a goddess of this name need not be exactly identical to Ἀφρο-δίτη.

According to this etymology, 'Αφροδίτη is the name of a celestial figure. As the following chapters will show, Aphrodite in Greek epic shares a number of epithets and narrative functions with Eos and with her Indic equivalent, the Dawn-goddess *Uṣas*. Traces of Aphrodite's celestial origin may be preserved in her cult titles Οὐρανία, *Aeria*,[1] and possibly Ἅρμα.[2] In several features of her worship too, Aphrodite is associated with celestial figures. At Athens, for example, sacred offerings called νηφάλια were given to Aphrodite Ourania as well as to a number of overtly celestial gods (Helios, Eos, Selene).[3] At Corinth, Aphrodite may have had a primitive association with Helios, from whom, according to an ancient tradition, she inherited her cult place on the acropolis.[4]

Finally, there are resemblances between Aphrodite and the Dawn-goddess in art as well as in epic diction and in cult. An Attic black-figured krater from about 540 B.C. shows Aphrodite and Aeneas facing (apparently) Diomedes and Athena. This is a variation of a typical scene originally created to represent Eos and Memnon facing their opponents Thetis and Achilles,[5] and as such, indicates

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[1] Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.2, reports that *Aeria* is an ancient name of the goddess at Paphos.

[2] The cult of 'Αφροδίτη Ἅρμα at Delphi (Plutarch, *Erot.* 23, 769b) is often related to the name 'Αρμονίη, the daughter of Aphrodite (*Theogony* 933-937). But if Aphrodite is a celestial goddess connected with the coming of light, she may have a chariot (ἅρμα) as an important attribute, as do Eos (ψ 246) and Selene (*Hymn* 32.10). Cf. Sappho 1.7-12 LP, where Aphrodite is reminded of the help she has previously brought when summoned:

> ἔκλυες, πάτρος δὲ δόμον λίποισα
> χρύσιον ἦλθες
> ἄρμ' ὐπασδεύξαισα· κάλοι δέ σ' ἆγον
> ὤκεες στροῦθοι περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας
> πύκνα δίννεντες πτέρ' ἀπ' ὠράνωἴθε-
> ρος διὰ μέσσω·

Perhaps Aphrodite's traditional association with a chariot underlies the story (E 357-369) that she had to borrow a team (ἵππους) from Ares to return to Olympus after Diomedes wounded her. It is interesting that in a similar situation, Artemis returns to Olympus with no mention of a chariot (Φ 505).

[3] Polemon of Ilion, fr. 42, in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. Carolus Müller (Paris, Didot, date not given), vol. 3, p. 127. The entire fragment, corroborated by Suda *s.v.* νηφάλια, reads as follows: 'Αθηναῖοί τε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐπιμελεῖς ὄντες καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὅσιοι νηφάλια μὲν ἱερὰ θύουσι Μνημοσύνῃ Μούσῃ, 'Ηοῖ, 'Ηλίῳ, Σελήνῃ, Νύμφαις, 'Αφροδίτῃ Οὐρανίᾳ.

[4] Pausanias 2.4.6.

[5] K. Friis Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art* (Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1967), pp. 200-202.

that the artist perceived a structural similarity between the pairs Eos-Memnon and Aphrodite-Aeneas.

Another Aphrodite-Eos analogy is provided by an Italiote red-figured krater [1] depicting a theme from the Theban foundation legend. On this pot, a female figure identified as Aphrodite is shown holding a mirror, under a solar disk, while Cadmus slays the dragon. A nearly identical female figure on another Italiote krater is labelled ΑΩΣ.[2] So although Aphrodite was assimilated to Astarte when Near Eastern models were used, when she is represented within the Greek artistic tradition she is sometimes very similar to Eos.

The evidence of epic diction, supported by Aphrodite-Eos resemblances in art and cult, suggests that Aphrodite originated as a hypostasis of the Indo-European Dawn-goddess. To say that in Greek epic Aphrodite is not the equivalent of Eos, however, is to point out the obvious. Aphrodite is a unique development in Greek, and has no exact equivalent in any other Indo-European poetic or mythological tradition. Her entry into Greek epic was facilitated by a transferral, or extension, of some of the expressions originally formulated for the Dawn-goddess. In many specific aspects of diction, therefore, Aphrodite resembles Eos in Greek epic and Uṣas in the Vedic hymns, but her functions are certainly not identical to theirs.

One difference between the overt Dawn-goddesses and their Greek hypostasis Aphrodite is in the traditions concerning their place of birth. Uṣas is called 'sky-born' (*divo-jā*, *Rig Veda* 6.65.1); Eos' father has the patently celestial name Ὑπερίων (*Theogony* 371-374), and her siblings are Helios and Selene. Aphrodite, however, is traditionally said to be born in the sea.[3] Greek epic diction, it is true, indicates strong rapports among celestial and marine goddesses, so that the similarities that exist in epic between the 'Sky-goddess' Eos and the 'Sea-goddess' Aphrodite would not lack parallels.[4] But Aphrodite's birth in the sea can be more clearly

[1] This krater, dated about 325 B.C., Louvre N. 3157, is described in Vian, *op. cit.* (p. 5, n. 2), p. 41, and is reproduced in Vian's Plate VIII.

[2] A krater of Python, *Brit. Mus.* F 149, reproduced in A. Trendall, *Paestan Pottery* (London, Macmillan, 1936), Plate XV. The resemblance to the figure on the Louvre krater is noted by Vian, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[3] *Theogony* 188-198. Cf. *Hymn* 6.1-5 and Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.2. Aphrodite's connection with the sea is further supported by such cult titles as Εὔπλοια, Λιμενία, and Ποντία. Cf. Kretschmer, *op. cit.* (p. 8, note 3), p. 267.

[4] For similarities among Sky, Sea, and Okeanos goddesses, cf. below, p. 69.

understood as the result of a direct relationship between the two goddesses.

When the Indo-European religious and poetic traditions originated, the speakers of the language were apparently land-locked.[1] Originally then the Dawn-goddess was perceived as a completely celestial figure, as are Eos and Uṣas. Indo-Europeans who later moved into coastal areas, however, might develop an association between the Dawn and the sea, as they saw the new light of day emerging from the water. Ἀφροδίτη could thus represent the 'bright cloud' which arises from the sea at daybreak, and this new development, unique in Greek, would explain the tradition of her birth in the sea rather than the sky. Only the place of her birth has changed, however, not her parentage: Aphrodite's father is still the Sky-god, whether he is called Οὐρανός 'sky' or Ζεύς (derived from **Dyēus* 'Sky-god, sky').

In Greek epic, however, Aphrodite has evolved to the point where she is no longer overtly a Dawn-goddess. Traces of her celestial origin are preserved in the epithets δῖα and Διὸς θυγάτηρ,[2] and in her association with such attributes of Dawn as clouds (Γ 381) and chariots (E 357-369). In attested epic, however, Aphrodite functions not as the Dawn but as a patroness of Trojans[3] and especially as goddess of love and beauty.

Even in this latter function, Aphrodite can be seen as a development of the Indo-European Dawn-goddess. Love affairs of course characterize the mythology of Eos. In the Vedic hymns, Uṣas is frequently identified as a spouse or lover, and she is described as an erotically beautiful young woman.[4] Indeed, in a later Indic work, the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, the Dawn-goddess created by Brahma becomes the supreme cosmic archetype of erotic beauty.[5] Apparently sexual

[1] Cf. Antoine Meillet, *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*, seventh edition (Paris, Klincksieck, 1965), pp. 9-10, for a brief discussion of the evidence for the original home of the Indo-Europeans. The fact that no common Indo-European word for 'sea' is attested gives further support to the theory that the language developed inland.

[2] Cf. below, pp. 28-31, for the origins of these epithets and their significance in relation to Aphrodite.

[3] One interesting explanation for Aphrodite's support of the Trojans is suggested by William Sale, 'Achilles and Heroic Values,' *Arion* 2.3 (1963) 86-100, pp. 96-97.

[4] E.g. in *RV* 1.123.10, 1.92.6, cf. also 1.30.20.

[5] This remarkable account is not generally available, except in Heinrich Zimmer's paraphrase in *The King and the Corpse*: *Tales of the Soul's Conquest of Evil* (New York, Pantheon, 1948), ed. Joseph Campbell, pp. 240ff.

attraction was within the sphere of the primitive Indo-European Dawn;[1] Aphrodite would be the most important among the several inheritors of that tradition.

By the time the Homeric and Hesiodic epics were composed, Aphrodite's role as love goddess was pre-eminent and her celestial origins were largely forgotten, except in the conservative formulaic language of epic poetry. Aphrodite's functions as preserved in that language will be the object of study in the following chapters.

[1] The Dawn, whether personified or naturalistic, is associated with erotic love in many poetic traditions besides the Indo-European. Cf. the anthology *Eos: An Enquiry into the Theme of Lovers' Meetings and Partings at Dawn in Poetry*, ed. Arthur T. Hatto (The Hague, Mouton, 1965).

CHAPTER ONE

THE NAMES AND EPITHETS OF APHRODITE

This chapter will deal with the most easily accessible features of the diction associated with Aphrodite: the ways in which the epic poets expressed her name in their verses. The system of Aphrodite's names and epithets will be analyzed to indicate several aspects of her position and function in archaic epic, especially in relation to her origin as a hypostasis of the Dawn-goddess.

Milman Parry's studies in epic diction have demonstrated the thoroughly traditional nature of the name-epithet formulas in Homeric poetry.[1] Parry's concern, however, is with the oral poets' use of a traditional language, rather than with the origins and development of that language. From this 'synchronic' point of view,[2] the epithet-systems are viewed chiefly as an important aid to versification.[3]

The present study, however, is more concerned with 'diachronic' aspects of the diction associated with Aphrodite. Parry demonstrated that the fixed epithets are traditional, and concluded that they are only ornamental, rather than relevant to their context.[4] My analysis suggests that the epithets are not only traditional units of an inherited language, but that they are also traditionally associated with particular contexts.

Using Parry's analytic techniques, several writers have dealt recently with general problems of the relationship between formula and context. William Whallon, for example, discusses how certain epithets influenced the composition of scenes which in effect illustrate or 'gloss' those epithets.[5] Michael Nagler proposes that the same formula can be obviously meaningful in one context, but

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[1] Milman Parry, 'The Traditional Epithet in Homer,' in *The Making of Homeric Verse* (MHV), pp. 37-117 and *passim*.

[2] The distinction between diachronic and synchronic aspects of language was first made by Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale* (Paris, Payot, 1916), p. 117.

[3] Parry, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 83-84.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 118-172.

[5] William Whallon, *Formula, Character, and Context: Studies in Homeric, Old English, and Old Testament Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass.; Harvard, 1969), p. 65 and *passim*.

elsewhere can function without immediate significance.[1] Douglas Frame demonstrates that an element may be so strongly associated with a particular traditional context that it is preserved in that context even when the poet was obviously unaware of its original significance.[2] These studies, among others, prove the necessity of studying the contexts, as well as the etymologies, of formulaic elements.

In this chapter the names used for Aphrodite will first be briefly surveyed, then the epithets and their contexts. The names are Ἀφροδίτη, Κύπρις, and Κυθέρεια, and they are attested in archaic epic according to the following pattern:

	Ἀφροδίτη	Κύπρις	Κυθέρεια
Iliad	30	5 (all in E)	
Odyssey	12		2
Homeric Hymns	17	1	5
Theogony	8 [1]		3 [1]
Works and Days	2		
Shield of Herakles	2		
Hesiodic Fragments	10	1	

[ ] doubtful attestations

Unlike Ἀφροδίτη, Κύπρις and Κυθέρεια are apparently not generalized throughout archaic epic, but are attested in limited parts of the tradition. The infrequency of their use is all the more striking because these alternate forms provide the poets with a much more flexible system for naming the goddess in their verses. Moreover, in at least one formula, χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη, Κυθέρεια would be metrically preferable to Ἀφροδίτη because the hiatus within the formula could be eliminated.[3] The 'preferable' form, however, is never substituted. The epic language thus does not often take advantage of the potentially versatile variants Κύπρις and Κυθέρεια. This failure to use forms which would facilitate versification suggests that those forms were not yet well established in epic diction.

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[1] Michael N. Nagler, 'Towards a Generative View of the Oral Formula,' *TAPA* 98 (1967) 269-311, p. 293.

[2] Douglas G. Frame, *The Origins of Greek* ΝΟΥΣ, pp. 14-19 and *passim*, discusses the traditional use of the formula ἄσμενοι ἐκ θανάτοιο.

[3] J. B. Hainsworth, *The Flexibility of the Homeric Formula* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1968), p. 21, notes that metrical anomalies occur much more frequently *between* formulas than *within* them. In the case of χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη, however, the anomaly is clearly intraformular.

The use of epithets with the three names also indicates that Ἀφροδίτη is more firmly established in the epic language. Κύπρις never occurs with an epithet. Κυθέρεια, aside from the single attestation of Κυπρογένεαν Κυθέρειαν (*Hymn* 10.1), receives only the epithet ἐυστέφανος and its equimetrical variant ἰοστέφανος (*Hymn* 6.18). Both Κύπρις and Κυθέρεια thus lack the complex system of epithets which is such an essential and typical metrical device for naming characters who are prominent in epic.

Ἀφροδίτη, on the other hand, has a fairly extensive epithet system, as indicated in the following chart:

Epithets of Ἀφροδίτη

	Il.	*Od.*	*Hymns*	*Theog.*	*Works*	*Sh. Her.*	*Hes. fr.*
δῖ', δῖα	4	1,1 #					
χρυσέη-ης-η-ην	5	5	1	4 [1]	1		4 [3]
χρυσείη	1 #						
* Διὸς θυγάτηρ	8	1	4				
** Διὸς κούρης	1						
ἐυστεφάνου		1					
** πολυχρύσου			2	1	1	2	1
* φιλομμειδής	5	1	5	1			1
** φιλοστεφάνου			1				
ἑλικοβλέφαρον-ε			1 #	1			
χρυσοστεφάνου-ον			1 #				1

* mutually interchangeable epithets, nominative, metrical shape ⏑ – ⏖ –
** mutually interchangeable epithets, genitive, metrical shape ⏑ – ⏖ –
# attested in position other than immediately preceding verse-final Ἀφροδίτ-
[ ] doubtful attestations

Like other names of similar metrical shape, Ἀφροδίτη is rather rigidly restricted to verse-final position.[1] The name-epithet combinations, however, are varied in length, so that the goddess's name can be included in a line with other formulas of various metrical shapes.

Ἀφροδίτη, therefore, has the marks of a traditional element in epic language. Κύπρις and Κυθέρεια, on the other hand, are not attested evenly throughout the epic corpus, are restricted to relatively few contexts, and have no developed epithet systems. Despite their later familiarity, these two names were apparently not well established in archaic epic.

[1] E.g. Ἀγαμέμνων is attested 92 times in verse-final position, elsewhere only 3 times. Ἀγελείη occurs 4 times, 3 of which are verse-final.

An analysis of the epithets associated with Aphrodite will help to define her roles in epic poetry. Although their use in context can be extremely important, the epithets can yield information about Aphrodite's functions even when they are not immediately relevant. Even Parry, who is mainly interested in the poets' synchronic use of name-epithets to aid versification, writes that 'obviously every epithet was particularized to begin with.'[1] Originally the epithets were used significantly, and it is usually possible to establish the reasons for their application to Aphrodite.

The distinctive epithets, i.e. those used only for Aphrodite, will be examined first. Three of these words may be considered mere 'analogues' of more familiar epithets. ἑλικοβλέφαρος, φιλοστέφανος, and ἰοστέφανος can be readily explained in terms of (1) their analogies with other traditional epithets and (2) the metrical requirements of a particular context.

ἑλικοβλέφαρον τ' Ἀφροδίτην (*Theogony* 16), for example, follows another name-epithet phrase, καὶ Θέμιν αἰδοίην, which ends at the hephthemimeral caesura. Of the attested fixed epithets of Aphrodite, none has the metrical shape necessary to complete the line. The epithet ἑλικοβλέφαρος may have been coined because of the metrical necessity, on the analogy of formulas like ἑλικώπιδα κούρην (A 98).

φιλοστεφάνου Ἀφροδίτης can be explained similarly. Like ἑλικοβλέφαρος and ἰοστέφανος, φιλοστέφανος is attested only once:

> εἴργηται δώρων τε φιλοστεφάνου Ἀφροδίτης
> (*H. Dem.* 102)

A hemistich is required here to complete the line after the trochaic caesura. The phrase must be in the genitive case. To avoid hiatus it should begin with a consonant. πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης, attested in the *Hymn to Aphrodite* and the *Shield of Herakles*, meets all the metrical requirements of the line, but this formula may have been unknown to the composer of this passage. φιλοστεφάνος has elements in common with φιλομμειδής and ἐυστέφανος, and thus may be analyzed as a conflation of two familiar fixed epithets of Aphrodite.[2]

ἰοστέφανος is another epithet which can be explained on the

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[1] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

[2] Hainsworth, *op. cit.*, p. 74, explains the process of formula conflation, in which two formulas having a common element are combined.

analogy of a similar form. The phrase ἰοστεφάνου Κυθερείης occurs only in *Hymn* 6.18. Apparently it is a minor variation of the formula ἐυστέφανος Κυθέρεια, attested in the *Odyssey*, the *Theogony*, and the *Hymn to Aphrodite*.

These three epithets have an ornamental significance; they are not particularized or apparently meaningful in context. The fact that their use is very limited (each is attested only one time) suggests that these 'analogous' epithets are not a traditional part of Aphrodite's name-epithet system.

More important for determining the functions of Aphrodite in Greek epic are the distinctive fixed epithets χρυσέη and φιλομμειδής. Each of these words refers to an important aspect of her characterization.

The stem χρῦσ- is not Indo-European but Semitic.[1] The Semitic word for gold was an early addition to the Greek lexicon, however, since it is attested in Linear B.[2]

In Homeric language gold is, of course, the divine metal *par excellence*. Many gods receive epithets compounded of χρυσ- and another element, such as Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορον, χρυσόθρονος Ἥρη, and χρυσηλάκατος Κελαδεινή. But only Aphrodite is herself χρυσέη 'golden,' and it is difficult to determine precisely the significance of the epithet as it applies to her.

It is possible that the name-epithet χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη dates from a period when the etymological significance of Ἀφρο-δίτη 'bright cloud' [3] was still understood. χρυσέη would be an appropriate description of the color of a dawn-cloud. In the Indic traditional poetry, the Dawn-goddess Uṣas is called *hiraṇya-varṇa* 'gold-colored' (*Rig Veda* 3.61.2, 7.77.2), and perhaps the same theme is implied in the name-epithet κροκόπεπλος Ἠώς.

Whatever its specific meaning in relation to Aphrodite, the epithet χρυσέη has a general bearing on the beauty of her appearance. χρυσέη is 'glossed,' to use Whallon's term,[4] in several epic descripitons of Aphrodite's appearance.

In the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, for example, when the goddess prepares herself to meet Anchises, she is χρυσῷ κοσμηθεῖσα 'adorned with

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[1] Cf. Émilia Masson, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec* (Paris, Klincksieck, 1967), p. 37.

[2] John Chadwick and Lydia Baumbach, 'The Mycenaean Greek Vocabulary,' *Glotta* 41 (1963) 157-271, *s.v.* χρυσός.

[3] For this etymology, cf. above, pp. 10-13.

[4] Whallon, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

gold' (*H. Aph.* 65). When she appears to him, Anchises wonders at the splendor of her golden ornaments: καλοί, χρύσειοι, παμποίκιλοι (*H. Aph.* 89). Her appearance leads Anchises to guess that she must be a goddess, perhaps even χρυσέη 'Αφροδίτη (*H. Aph.* 93).

The same epithet is glossed in another Homeric *Hymn*. The Horai, welcoming the goddess as she arrives at Cyprus, adorn her with their own golden jewelry:

κρατὶ δ' ἐπ' ἀθανάτῳ στεφάνην εὔτυκτον ἔθηκαν
καλὴν χρυσείην, ἐν δὲ τρητοῖσι λοβοῖσιν
ἄνθεμ' ὀρειχάλκου χρυσοῖό τε τιμήεντος,
δειρῇ δ' ἀμφ' ἁπαλῇ καὶ στήθεσιν ἀργυφέοισιν
ὅρμοισι χρυσέοισιν ἐκόσμεον οἷσί περ αὐταὶ
Ὧραι κοσμείσθην χρυσάμπυκες . . .
(*Hymn* 6.7-12)

Although the formula χρυσέη 'Αφροδίτη is not attested in this *Hymn*, it may well have influenced the description of Aphrodite's golden decorations.

χρυσέη 'Αφροδίτη is overtly associated with the theme of adornment in several contexts. Only twice in Greek epic does χρυσέη 'Αφροδίτη perform an action; what she does in both these passages is to provide adornment. In a Hesiodic passage, Zeus orders Aphrodite to give χάρις to Pandora:

καὶ χάριν ἀμφιχέαι κεφαλῇ χρυσέην 'Αφροδίτην
(*Works and Days* 65)

In the *Iliad*, after Hector's death, Andromache throws off the veil which Aphrodite gave her on the day of her marriage:

κρήδεμνόν θ', ὅ ῥά οἱ δῶκε χρυσέη 'Αφροδίτη
(X 470)

The epithet thus relates generally to Aphrodite's aspect as goddess of beauty.

The second important particularized epithet of Aphrodite is φιλομμειδής. Even more overtly than χρυσέη, this term is related to her functions in epic.

φιλομμειδής is a compound epithet derived from the root **smi-* (cf. Indic *smi-* 'smile,' Slavic *smij-ati sę* 'laugh,' and the Greek verb μειδιάω/μειδάω).[1] In the Greek verb the initial *s* of the root is

[1] A patently false Hesiodic etymology (*Theogony* 200) would derive φιλομμειδής from μήδεα because Aphrodite was born in the 'testicles' of Ouranos.

dropped, but it is reflected in the doubled μ of the compound φιλομμειδής (cf. Homeric νίφος and the compound epithet ἀγαννίφης, from the root **snigʷh-*).

Smiling is associated with Aphrodite in epic contexts, and with erotic themes in general. First, in the Hesiodic story of Aphrodite's birth, her attributes are described:

> ταύτην δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς τιμὴν ἔχει ἠδὲ λέλογχε
> μοῖραν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,
> παρθενίους τ' ὀάρους μειδήματά τ' ἐξαπάτας τε
> τέρψιν τε γλυκερὴν φιλότητά τε μειλιχίην τε.
>
> (*Theogony* 203-206)

The use of μειδήματα in such a context suggests the erotic significance of the epithet φιλομμειδής. Aphrodite is φιλομμειδής in the sense that she presides over the smiles which are elements in her sphere of love-making.

The epithet φιλομμειδής is regularly associated with Aphrodite's role as goddess of sexual love. The use of φιλομμειδὴς 'Αφροδίτη in overtly erotic contexts will be discussed below, in contrast with the uses of the metrically equivalent formula Διὸς θυγάτηρ 'Αφροδίτη.[1] At this point, however, it should be observed that the concept of smiling is not limited to Aphrodite's function as love goddess. Her smile is featured even in passages which are not overtly erotic, as in a Homeric *Hymn* addressed to her:

> . . . ἐφ' ἱμερτῷ δὲ προσώπῳ
> αἰεὶ μ ε ι δ ι ά ε ι καὶ ἐφ' ἱμερτὸν θέει ἄνθος.
>
> (*Hymn* 10.2-3)

The epithet φιλομμειδής is not attested here, but the theme of Aphrodite's smile may have been familiar to the poet and his audience.

The same theme is attested again in a non-epic genre. Sappho imagines Aphrodite's response to her prayer for help in a love affair:

> αἶψα δ' ἐξίκοντο, σὺ δ' ὦ μάκαιρα
> μ ε ι δ ι α ί σ α ι σ' ἀθανάτῳ προσώπῳ
> ἤρε' ὄττι δηὖτε πέπονθα κὤττι
> δηὖτε κάλημμι
>
> (Sappho 1.13-16 LP)

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[1] Cf. below, pp. 31-35.

The formula φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη is thus reinforced by several contexts in epic and lyric which refer to Aphrodite's smile without using the epithet itself. In such cases, it is difficult to decide whether the theme (smiling) or the epithet is older.

Aphrodite's traditional association with smiling is also significant in the *Dios apate* episode of the *Iliad.* In preparation for her seduction of Zeus, Hera seems to make herself resemble Aphrodite as nearly as possible. She is beautifully clothed, ornamented with gold, and she even wears Aphrodite's own embroidered ἱμάς. As she leaves the love goddess whose aid she has enlisted, Hera is smiling too:

> ὣς φάτο, μείδησεν δὲ βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη,
> μειδήσασα δ' ἔπειτα ἑῷ ἐγκάτθετο κόλπῳ.
>
> (Ξ 222-223)

ὣς φάτο μείδησεν δὲ is a fairly common formula (cf. A 595-596), but in this passage the association with Aphrodite (overtly called φιλομμειδὴς in Ξ 211) surely gives Hera's smile an erotic overtone, and further suggests her Aphrodite-like attractiveness.[1]

The Indo-European poetic tradition may have originated the concept of a 'smile-loving' Dawn-goddess, since not only the Greek Aphrodite but the Indic Uṣas also is associated with smiling. Of the eight attestations of the verb *smi-* 'smile' in the *Rig Veda,* half refer to Uṣas. Some of these contexts are explicitly erotic. In one hymn it is said:

> kanyèva tanvā̀ çāçadānāñ éṣi devi devám íyakṣamāṇam /
> *saṃsmáyamānā* yuvatíḥ purástād āvír vákṣāṅsi kṛṇuṣe vibhātī́
>
> Like a maiden proud of her body, you go, goddess, to the desirous god. *Smiling* you unveil for him your breast, like a young wife, when you shine in the East.
>
> (RV 1.123.10)

Elsewhere Uṣas 'smiles (*smayate*) like a temptress when she shines' (RV 1.92.6b). In another hymn, the successive Dawns are 'smiling (*smáyamānābhis*) like beautiful women' (RV 1.79.2b).

Eos, the Greek equivalent of Uṣas and the predecessor of Aphrodite, is not associated with the concept of smiling in Greek epic. Perhaps the theme was primitively connected with Eos, as the

[1] Other similarities between Hera in the *Dios apate* and Aphrodite in the *Hymn to Aphrodite* will be discussed below, pp. 72, 77-78.

comparative evidence would indicate, but transferred to her hypostasis Aphrodite when she entered the poetic tradition.

Besides the epithets attested only for Aphrodite, there are several which she shares with other characters in epic.[1] Two of these are metrically interchangeable, attested only with the genitive Ἀφροδίτης: Διὸς κούρης and πολυχρύσου. (A third equimetrical form, φιλοστεφάνου, has been discussed above[2] as an 'analogous' epithet.) Διὸς κούρης would provide a genitive variant of the familiar nominative formula Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη, which does not fit into the hexameter in its oblique cases.

πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης is attested in the first line of the *Hymn to Aphrodite* and several times in the Hesiodic corpus (*Theogony* 980, *Works and Days* 521, *Sh. Her.* 8, 47, *Hes. frag.* 185.17, 253.3 MW). This name-epithet is clearly an expansion of the familiar formula χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη, developed on the analogy of other noun-epithets which include the element πολυχρυσ-.[3]

Apparently πολύχρυσος as applied to Aphrodite has a meaning different from that of the same epithet when used in other formulas. The other attestations of πολύχρυσος are in the formulas πολυχρύσοιο Μυκήνης (Η 180, Λ 46, γ 304), πολύχρυσον πολύχαλκον (of Troy, Σ 289), and πολύχρυσος πολύχαλκος (of Dolon, Κ 315). In all these contexts the epithet appears to mean 'having much gold,' i.e. 'wealthy.' Such a term would fittingly describe a rich city like Mycenae or Troy, and presumably would apply in a similar way to Dolon too. But 'wealthy Aphrodite' has nothing to do with the goddess as she is characterized in epic poetry. πολύχρυσος as applied to Aphrodite probably refers to her shining beauty, and depends for its meaning on her distinctive fixed epithet χρυσέη.

Besides the common element -χρυσ-, the influence of meter also may have suggested the use of πολύχρυσος with Aphrodite. In all its attestations, πολυχρυσ- occupies the metrical slot immediately following the trochaic caesura. Thus the position and the metrical shape of the epithet combine well with the typical position of Ἀφροδιτ- at verse end. The formula πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης therefore provides a metrically convenient way to express the concept

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[1] For this analysis, the term 'shared epithet' is preferable to Parry's term 'generic epithet,' which he uses in contrast to the 'distinctive epithet,' i.e. an epithet attested for only one character.

[2] Cf. above, p. 21.

[3] Cf. again Hainsworth (p. 21 n. 2) for the process of expanding an epithet.

'golden Aphrodite' in the genitive, in a hemistisch following a trochaic caesura.

ἐυστέφανος, another epithet which Aphrodite shares with other figures, is usually associated with her name Κυθέρεια rather than 'Αφροδίτη. Moreover, unlike her other important epithets (χρυσέη, φιλομμειδής, δῖα, Διὸς θυγάτηρ), ἐυστέφανος apparently has not evolved from a concept related to the Indo-European Dawn-goddess. Rather, the epithet suggests a similarity between Aphrodite and some non-celestial figures in epic.

The formula ἐυστέφανος Κυθέρεια is attested in the *Odyssey*, the *Theogony*, and the *Hymn to Aphrodite* (where it occurs in the genitive and dative cases). The variant ἐυστεφάνου τ' 'Αφροδίτης occurs once, in the Lay of Demodocus (θ 267). Obviously the connective τε here influenced the choice of 'Αφροδίτης instead of Κυθερείης, since

∪ _ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ _

ἐυστεφάνου τε Κυθερείης would be unmetrical (as would, incidentally,

∪ _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ _

the nominative ἐυστέφανος 'Αφροδίτη).

Aphrodite shares the epithet ἐυστέφανος with other goddesses: Demeter (*H. Dem.* 224, 307, 384, 470; *Works and Days* 300) and Artemis (as Κελαδεινή, Φ 511). The epithet is also used of the nymphs Mycene (β 120) and Cleia (*Hes. frag.* 291.1 MW), and of the maiden Polymele (*Hes. frag.* 43(a).1 MW). The city of Thebes is also called ἐυστέφανος (T 99, *Theogony* 978, *Sh. Her.* 80). Since the epithet elsewhere in epic is used only for female characters, including the city-goddess Mycene, it may be that originally ἐυστέφανος referred to the city-goddess Thebe rather than to the city itself (cf. Μᾶτερ ἐμά. . . χρύσασπι Θήβα, Pindar *Is.* 1.1, for a similar personification of Thebe.)

ἐυστέφανος thus is an epithet shared by several nymphs and goddesses, especially those associated with vegetal or animal fertility, such as Demeter and Artemis. Aphrodite too fits into this category. Although her origins are celestial, she was also associated with the growth of plants in various cults.[1] This function may have been a natural result of her role as a Dawn-goddess specifically connected with clouds ('Αφρο-δίτη= 'bright cloud') and therefore with rain.

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[1] Aphrodite's cult functions as a fertility goddess are discussed in Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. II, pp. 642-653; the ancient testimonies are quoted in his note 107, pp. 750-751.

The meaning of ἐυστέφανος, 'well-crowned, garlanded,' may refer to the garlands often worn in the sacred dances performed for fertility goddesses. This type of worship, discussed in more detail in another context,[1] is especially prominent in the cults of Demeter at Eleusis and of Artemis in the Peloponnese, and both Demeter and Artemis receive the epithet ἐυστέφανος in epic. ἐυστέφανος is also applied to the names of others who participate in a sacred dance: Polymele, who dances for Artemis (Π 180-183), and the Hyad Cleia, an attendant of Dionysus and therefore likely to be a 'garlanded dancer' as well.[2]

The formula ἐυστέφανος Κυθέρεια is 'glossed' in a fragment from the *Cypria*. Aphrodite weaves garlands on Mount Ida with the Nymphs and the Charites:

> πλεξάμεναι στεφάνους εὐώδεας, ἄνθεα γαίης,
> ἂν κεφαλαῖσιν ἔθεντο θεαὶ λιπαροκρήδεμνοι
> (Athenaeus xv.682 F, 2-3)

The epithet ἐυστέφανος is not attested in the *Cypria* fragment, but it is apparently related to the context quoted here, in which Aphrodite is overtly connected with garlands (στεφάνους).

δῖα is another epithet which Aphrodite shares with other characters in epic. The word, based on the root **dei-* 'shine,'[3] is related to the Indo-European word for sky, **dyēus*, and would therefore be especially appropriate for a Dawn-goddess. It may be argued, however, that this is overstating the apparent synchronic meaning of δῖα in epic, where it is usually considered to carry the unspecific meaning 'divine.' In his edition of the *Theogony*, for example, Martin West calls δῖα a generic epithet 'applied freely to goddesses,'[4]

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1 Cf. below, pp. 44-48 with notes.

2 Scholiast on Aratus 172 (*Hes. Frag.* 291 MW).

3 The morphology of δῖα is discussed by C. J. Ruijgh, *Études sur la grammaire et le vocabulaire du grec mycénien* (Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1967), pp. 130-133. Ruijgh argues that δῖᾰ (Mycenaean *di-wi-ja/di-u-ja*) would mean 'wife of Zeus' (cf. λέαινα < *λεϝ°νyα: λε(ϝ)ων) rather than 'daughter of Zeus,' which would be represented by δίη, not attested in epic. Possibly δῖα is simply the feminine equivalent of δῖος, however, and means neither 'daughter of' nor 'wife of' the Sky-god, but merely 'Sky-goddess' (as λέαινα may mean 'lioness' rather than 'wife of a lion').

Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. I, pp. 396-97, *s.v.* δῖος, considers the epic form δῖα to mean 'daughter of Heaven.'

The morphology of δῖα is also discussed by Émile Benveniste, *Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européen*, pp. 73 and 166.

4 M. L. West, *Hesiod: Theogony*, p. 429.

and this is apparently true of the term as used in the Hesiodic corpus.[1] The metrically convenient Adonic formulas δῖα γυναικῶν and δῖα θεάων are also used generically for women and goddesses in epic.[2] But in the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the Homeric *Hymns*, the use of the simple epithet δῖα appears more restricted, as the following table suggests:

δῖα as Epithet of Female Characters

Iliad	*Odyssey*	*Homeric Hymns*
Eos (5 attestations)	Eos (8)	Selene (3)
Aphrodite (4)	Calypso (3)	Coronis (1)
Theano (1)	Aphrodite (2)	
Anteia (1)	Charybdis (2)	
	Clytemnestra (1)	
	Neaira (1)	

So conservative is the diction of the Homeric poems that most of the attestations of δῖα refer to celestial figures: Eos, Selene, Aphrodite, and Neaira (the wife of Helios, μ 133). Calypso too, whose functions in epic are similar to those of a Dawn-goddess,[3] may have a significant association with the epithet δῖα in its etymological sense.

Compounds based on the same root are, not surprisingly, associated with Eos' Indic cognate, Uṣas. She is called *divo-jā* 'born of the Sky' (RV 6.65.1) and *divi-jā* 'born in the Sky' (RV 7.75.1), and is typically referred to as *divá*(*s*) *duhitár-*, 'daughter of the Sky.'[4] As an epithet of celestial goddesses, therefore, δῖα maintains its archaic position in the traditional poetry and reflects its etymological significance 'bright.'

δῖα is a particularly appropriate epithet for Aphrodite. The second element of 'Αφρο-δίτη also means 'bright,' and is developed from the same root as δῖα.[5] Moreover, in several passages in epic, Aphrodite is described as a particularly luminous figure. When she appears to Anchises, for example, her shining beauty is emphasized: εἵματα σιγαλόεντα, πέπλον . . . φαινότερον πυρὸς αὐγῆς, κάλυκάς τε φαεινάς, ὡς δὲ σελήνη . . . ἐλάμπετο (*H. Aph.* 85-90).

[1] The masculine δῖος is a generic epithet for heroes in the Homeric epics as well. Cf. Parry, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-147.

[2] The morphology and primitive significance of these two formulas are discussed, with differing conclusions, by Ruijgh and Frisk (cf. p. 28 n. 3 above).

[3] For other 'Dawn-goddess' aspects of Calypso, cf. below pp. 71-73, p. 76 n.2.

[4] This formula is more fully discussed below, pp. 30-31.

[5] For the morphology of -δίτη, cf. above, pp. 10-11.

Another fixed epithet used for Aphrodite as well as other characters in epic is Διὸς θυγάτηρ. This formula has an exact formal and metrical cognate in the Vedic expression *divá*(*s*) *duhitár-*, and has therefore been identified as a phrase inherited from the Indo-European poetic language.[1] This formula, with its alternate form *duhitár- divá*(*s*), is used exclusively of Uṣas in the *Rig Veda*. The cognate formulas, however, are never used of Uṣas' Greek cognate Eos. Nagy plausibly suggests that the formula *θυγάτηρ Διὸς 'Ηώς was replaced by its metrical equivalent ῥοδοδάκτυλος 'Ηώς.[2] In fact, Eos is no longer known as a 'daughter of Zeus' in Greek epic. (In *Theogony* 371-374 her father is the rather amorphous celestial figure Hyperion.) Apparently the ancient formula Διὸς θυγάτηρ was transferred from the Dawn-goddess to her Greek hypostasis Aphrodite, and its use as an epithet of Eos was eventually precluded.

Despite their common origin, the cognate Vedic and Greek formulas differ greatly in terms of the synchronic meanings of the element *divá*(*s*)/Διός, derived from the name of the Indo-European Sky-god, **Dyēus*. The Vedic *divá*(*s*) is the genitive form of *Dyāus*, a primitive Indic Sky-god. The role of Dyaus in Indic religion had faded so much, however, that in the *Rig Veda*, the term *dyāus* usually refers only to the sky, rather than to a personalized Sky-god.[3] In Greek epic, on the other hand, Διός would naturally be understood to refer to the Greek Zeus, who is by no means a 'faded' divinity, but the head of the Olympian pantheon.

Although in Greek epic Διὸς θυγάτηρ is used most frequently of Aphrodite, the formula is also attested with several names of Athena (Β 548, Δ 128, etc.), and is used once for Artemis (υ 61), Ate (τ 91), Helen (δ 227), and Persephone (λ 217). The title 'daughter(s) of Zeus' is also applied to the Muse(s) (in the singular, α 10, etc.; in the plural, *Theogony* 76, etc.). Many of these figures are indeed 'daughters of Zeus' in terms of classical Greek mythology, and in some cases popular birth stories illustrate their relationship to him (e.g. the birth of Athena, *Theogony* 886-890).

Clearly, however, some of these 'daughter' goddesses originated independent of Zeus. Helen, for example, was probably worshipped

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1 Rüdiger Schmitt, *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indo-germanischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1967), p. 173.

2 Gregory Nagy, 'Phaethon, Sappho's Phaon, and the White Rock of Leukas,' *HSCP* 77 (1973) 137-177, pp. 162-163.

3 Cf. A. A. MacDonnell, *The Vedic Mythology* (reprinted Varanasi, Singh, 1971), pp. 21-22.

in the Peloponnese before the arrival of the Greek-speaking tribes.[1] The spread of the Olympian pantheon, with Zeus πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε at its head, would have encouraged the mythopoeic process that transformed such a non-Indo-European figure into a 'daughter of Zeus.'

Aphrodite's own birth story makes her the daughter of Ouranos rather than Zeus (*Theogony* 188-200). Since the Ouranos-Kronos succession story has certain parallels in Hittite-Hurrian mythology,[2] the Hesiodic 'birth of Aphrodite,' which is contained in the succession myth, is sometimes considered proof of Aphrodite's Near Eastern origins. Parallel to her would be the Sky-daughters Ishtar and Astarte.

In fact, however, there is no parallel to the remarkable story that Aphrodite was born from the ἀφρός-covered testicles of Ouranos. Instead of relating Aphrodite's descent from Ouranos to Near Eastern myths, it is much simpler to explain the Hesiodic birth story in terms of obvious philological developments within Greek. The tradition apparently preserved the relationship between Aphrodite, as a Dawn-goddess, and her father the Sky. Originally her filial relationship could have been expressed by the archaic formula Διὸς θυγάτηρ 'daughter of the Sky' (Διός is derived from **dyēus*, the Indo-European word for 'sky' or 'Sky-god'). But when Ζεύς developed into a highly personalized god, he was no longer exactly identified with the visible sky, for which there was a separate lexical term, οὐρανός. The Sky-god Ouranos thus came to be considered Aphrodite's Sky-father, hence her patronymic cult title Οὐρανία.

Διὸς θυγάτηρ is metrically equivalent to Aphrodite's distinctive epithet φιλομμειδής. Both epithets are attested with 'Αφροδίτη in the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Hymn to Aphrodite*. Contrary to the epic principle of economy, as formulated by Milman Parry,[3] there would thus be a choice between two equimetrical name-epithets for the same character. The epithet could therefore be chosen for reasons other than ease of versification. An examination of the uses of each epithet will reveal that the choice was carefully made, and that the epithets are used significantly in their contexts.

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[1] The probable origins of Helen as a cult figure are discussed by Linda Clader, *Helen: The Evolution from Divine to Heroic in Greek Epic Tradition* (Diss. Harvard 1973), especially pp. 97-120.

[2] West, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-213, summarizes the parallels attested in Near Eastern myths.

[3] Cf. Parry, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-18 and *passim*.

When such an equimetrical pair exists in traditional diction, both epithets can be fully 'traditional,' as Parry observes.[1] Such is the case with φιλομμειδής and Διὸς θυγάτηρ: the former is a fixed, distinctive epithet of Aphrodite, thematically related to the primitive concept of a 'smiling' Dawn-goddess, while the latter epithet is the Greek reflex of an Indo-European expression.

A useful distinction may be made between the 'marked' and 'unmarked' members of such a pair of epithets. Because it is used significantly in every context (although with a variety of connotations), Διὸς θυγάτηρ would be the functionally 'marked' member of the equimetrical pair. It is associated either with a traditional function of the Dawn-goddess (whose epic roles Aphrodite inherited along with elements of diction), or with Aphrodite's filial relationship to Zeus. φιλομμειδής, on the other hand, is sometimes used without relevance to its immediate context. Although most often used in passages that refer to Aphrodite's erotic aspect, φιλομμειδής is also attested in contexts where it has only an ornamental value. φιλομμειδής is thus the functionally 'unmarked' member of the pair. An 'unmarked,' ornamental use of φιλομμειδής occurs in the list of the gods about to give aid to the Trojans:

ἐς δὲ Τρῶας Ἄρης κορυθαίολος, αὐτὰρ ἅμ' αὐτῷ
Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμης, ἠδ' Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα,
Λητώ τε Ξάνθος τε φιλομμειδής τ' Ἀφροδίτη.
(Υ 38-40)

More frequently, however, φιλομμειδής is used in contexts which explicitly emphasize Aphrodite's aspect as goddess of sexual love. This function of the epithet is related to the erotic overtones of Aphrodite's smile, as discussed above.

In the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, φιλομμειδής Ἀφροδίτη is mentioned in connection with Artemis, one of the three goddesses not under her power:

οὐδέ ποτ' Ἀρτέμιδα χρυσηλάκατον, κελαδεινὴν
δάμναται ἐν φιλότητι φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη.
(*H. Aph.* 16-17)

In this passage, Aphrodite's sphere of φιλότης is contrasted with Artemis' asexual interests (cf. lines 18-20).

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[1] *Ibid.* p. 18.

It may be argued that anaphora, rather than the erotic connotations of φιλομμειδής, predisposed the poet's choice of epithet here. Similarity of sound is indeed a factor influencing word choice in this hymn, as Porter has demonstrated,[1] and the proximity of φιλότητι may have reinforced the choice of φιλομμειδής. Nevertheless, it is still as φιλομμειδής, that is, as the goddess of erotic smiles, that Aphrodite differs from the virgin Artemis. Had the poet chosen the equimetrical epithet Διὸς θυγάτηρ, the contrast between the goddesses would not have been so marked, especially since Artemis herself is a Διὸς θυγάτηρ (υ 61).

Aphrodite's influence extends over most of the gods, and her power to make them fall in love with mortals is a source of shame to them. In retribution, Zeus decides to make Aphrodite herself love a mortal. In this specifically erotic context, the goddess is called φιλομμειδής. It is interesting to note that the motif of laughter is overtly mentioned in collocation with φιλομμειδής. Zeus explains why he is going to humiliate Aphrodite:

> μηδ' αὐτὴ βροτέης εὐνῆς ἀποεργμένη εἴη,
> καὶ ποτ' ἐπευξαμένη εἴπῃ μετὰ πᾶσι θεοῖσιν
> ἡδὺ γελοιήσασα, φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη,
> ὥς ῥα θεοὺς συνέμιξε καταθνητῇσι γυναιξί,
> καί τε καταθνητοὺς υἱεῖς τέκον ἀθανάτοισιν,
> ὥς τε θεὰς ἀνέμιξε καταθνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις.
> (*H. Aph.* 47-52)

When Aphrodite sees Anchises and falls in love with him, she again receives the epithet φιλομμειδής:

> τὸν δὴ ἔπειτα ἰδοῦσα φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη
> ἠράσατ', ἔκπαγλος δὲ κατὰ φρένας ἵμερος εἷλεν.
> (H. Aph. 56-57)

Aphrodite is called φιλομμειδής two more times in the *Hymn*, when she adorns herself in preparation for her journey to Anchises (*H. Aph.* 65), and when she follows him to his bed (*H. Aph.* 155). Both these passages obviously refer to the goddess' sexual role, so often associated with the epithet φιλομμειδής.

φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη is attested once in the *Odyssey*. The context

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[1] A. N. Porter, 'Repetition in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite,' *AJP* 70 (1949) 249-272, pp. 263-266.

is very similar to the 'adornment' passage in the *Hymn* (*H. Aph.* 58-66), where Aphrodite bathes and dresses in her temple at Paphos. In the *Odyssey* passage, however, the bath at Paphos follows rather than precedes a love affair. Demodocus tells how Hephaestus trapped his wife and her lover, Ares, and was finally persuaded to set them free. Ares fled to Thrace; φιλομμειδὴς 'Αφροδίτη went to Cyprus (θ 362). Again, the epithet is associated with an overtly erotic theme.

In the *Iliad* also, φιλομμειδής is used for Aphrodite specifically as a goddess of seduction and love-making, but instead of referring to her own love affairs, the epithet is used in contexts where she inflicts ἵμερος on others.

When Aphrodite has rescued Paris from Menelaus, she goes to bring Helen to her Trojan husband (Γ 383-394). At first Helen angrily refuses to cooperate with the goddess. If she joins Paris, she maintains, the Trojan women will find fault with her (Γ 411-412). Helen's reluctance recalls the motif of shame which in epic poetry is frequently attributed to characters under the influence of sexual desire. In the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, for example, the ἵμερος which Aphrodite imposes on other gods is a source of embarrassment to them, and the ἵμερος which Zeus imposes on her results in her degradation. Again in the *Iliad* passage, the epithet φιλομμειδής occurs in connection with the 'shame' motif, as Aphrodite finally prevails over Helen and leads her to Paris:

> ἡ δ' εἰς ὑψόροφον θάλαμον κίε δῖα γυναικῶν.
> τῇ δ' ἄρα δίφρον ἑλοῦσα φιλομμειδὴς 'Αφροδίτη
> ἀντί' 'Αλεξάνδροιο θεὰ κατέθηκε φέρουσα.
>
> (Γ 423-425)

In the *Dios apate* episode (a passage which, like the Lay of Demodocus, parallels several elements in the *Hymn to Aphrodite*) Hera asks Aphrodite to provide her with the ἵμερος necessary to reconcile her quarreling step-parents Okeanos and Tethys. (This is of course only Hera's pretext; she really plans to use Aphrodite's attributes herself to distract Zeus so that Poseidon can aid the Achaeans without interference.) Aphrodite agrees to help Hera; she agrees, that is, to function as the goddess of love, and the epithet φιλομμειδής is selected to describe her in this aspect. It is perhaps significant that Aphrodite cites Hera's sexual relationship to Zeus as the reason for her deference:

τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη·
οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲ ἔοικε τεὸν ἔπος ἀρνήσασθαι·
Ζηνὸς γὰρ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἐν ἀγκοίνησιν ἰαύεις.

(Ξ 211-213)

φιλομμειδής is attested in several contexts which are not erotic themselves, but where Aphrodite is represented as an effeminate and debasing love goddess, sometimes in contrast to more warlike characters. After she has been wounded by Diomedes, for example, Aphrodite returns injured to her mother Dione on Olympus, and, as φιλομμειδής, she explains what has happened to her:

τὴν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη·
οὖτά με Τυδέος υἱός, ὑπέρθυμος Διομήδης,
οὕνεκ' ἐγὼ φίλον υἱὸν ὑπεξέφερον πολέμοιο,
Αἰνείαν, ὃς ἐμοὶ πάντων πολὺ φίλτατός ἐστιν.

(Ε 375-378)

The choice of φιλομμειδής rather than Διὸς θυνάτηρ sharply contrasts 'smile-loving' Aphrodite with her antagonist, the fierce warrior Diomedes.

In the opening scene of *Iliad* 4, Zeus is taunting Hera and Athena over their neglect of Menelaus while φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη rescued Paris after his defeat:

δοιαὶ μὲν Μενελάῳ ἀρηγόνες εἰσὶ θεάων,
Ἥρη τ' Ἀργείη καὶ Ἀλαλκομενηὶς Ἀθήνη.
ἀλλ' ἤτοι ταί, νόσφι καθήμεναι, εἰσορόωσαι
τέρπεσθον· τῷ δ' αὖτε φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη
αἰεὶ παρμέμβλωκε καὶ αὐτοῦ κῆρας ἀμύνει,
καὶ νῦν ἐξεσάωσεν οἰόμενον θανέεσθαι.

(Δ 7-12)

The connotations of the epithet φιλομμειδής quicken Zeus' insult to Hera and Athena: Aphrodite, the effeminate love-goddess, protected her hero on the battlefield while the supposedly warlike defenders of the Achaeans were content to look on passively.

φιλομμειδής then generally refers to Aphrodite as a goddess of love. In addition to its merely 'ornamental' uses, it is often attested in specifically erotic contexts. The poet had a choice between two name-epithets of Aphrodite with this metrical shape, φιλομμειδής and Διὸς θυγάτηρ. When the goddess's sexual aspect was emphasized, φιλομμειδής was regularly selected.

Διὸς θυγάτηρ too is used significantly in context. A distinction may be made between the 'diachronic' and 'synchronic' functions of the formula, however, since the epithet carries two sets of meanings. Διὸς θυγάτηρ is primitively associated with the Indo-European Dawn-goddess, in whose tradition Aphrodite evolved, but the epithet may also be used with a newer meaning to refer to a filial relationship with Zeus. Διὸς θυγάτηρ is used of Aphrodite either when she is performing a traditional function of the Dawn-goddess, or when the poet is emphasizing her kinship with Zeus. Attestations of the epithet in this latter, synchronic significance will be examined first.

In the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, as discussed above, Zeus is concerned with φιλομμειδὴς 'Αφροδίτη as the goddess of love who has blinded and misled him and other Olympians, much to their shame. It is as φιλομμειδής too that Aphrodite goes to Paphos to prepare for her encounter with Anchises. But when she approaches him, for the first time in the poem Aphrodite is called Διὸς θυγάτηρ:

στῆ δ' αὐτοῦ προπάροιθε Διὸς θυγάτηρ 'Αφροδίτη
παρθένῳ ἀδμήτῃ μέγεθος καὶ εἶδος ὁμοίη,
μή μιν ταρβήσειεν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι νοήσας.
(*H. Aph.* 81-83)

In this context, the epithet Διὸς θυγάτηρ performs a double function. It recalls Aphrodite's subordination to Zeus, who is humbling his daughter through this love affair with a mortal, and it emphasizes her divine nature in contrast to Anchises' mortality. Aphrodite's identification as a Διὸς θυγάτηρ contrasts ironically with her assumed identity as a young girl (παρθένῳ ἀδμήτῃ). Anchises is not to know that she is a goddess, or he would be afraid to make love with her (*H. Aph.* 83; cf. his reaction when he discovers her true identity, lines 181-190).

Despite Aphrodite's assertions to the contrary, Anchises believes she is divine, and proposes to set up an altar for her. Again Aphrodite insists that she is a mortal girl. The repetition of Διὸς θυγάτηρ at this point increases the irony of the situation by implicitly contradicting the goddess's insistence on her mortal nature:

Τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα Διὸς θυγάτηρ 'Αφροδίτη·
'Αγχίση, κύδιστε χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων,
οὔ τίς τοι θεός εἰμι· τί μ' ἀθανάτῃσιν ἐίσκεις;

ἀλλὰ καταθνητή τε γυνὴ δέ με γείνατο μήτηρ,
Ὀτρεὺς δ' ἐστὶ πατὴρ ὀνομακλυτός . . .
(*H. Aph.* 107-111)

The identification of Aphrodite as a daughter of Zeus implies that she is also subordinate to him, a theme which generally affects the characterization of Aphrodite in the *Hymn*. It is of course her father Zeus who causes her to fall in love with Anchises, and it is as Διὸς θυγάτηρ that she first meets her lover (*H. Aph.* 81). Later, when Anchises realizes that he has indeed consorted with a goddess, he expresses his fear and begs for pity *in Zeus' name*:

ἀλλά σε πρὸς Ζηνὸς γουνάζομαι αἰγιόχοιο
(*H. Aph.* 187)

And explicitly as Zeus' daughter, Aphrodite reassures Anchises that he should fear no harm from the gods (*H. Aph.* 191-195).

Aphrodite's subordination to Zeus is further suggested at the end of the *Hymn*. She commands Anchises not to reveal that she is Aeneas' mother, and threatens that if he does so, Zeus will strike him down with his thunderbolt (*H. Aph.* 286-288). The use of the epithet Διὸς θυγάτηρ in its synchronic sense therefore reflects the process through which Aphrodite, who originated as a celestial figure in the Indo-European tradition, became incorporated into the Olympian family, and subjected to her 'father,' the Homeric Zeus.

In the *Iliad* too, the epithet Διὸς θυγάτηρ is sometimes used to emphasize Aphrodite's relationship to Zeus. In the *Dios apate*, for example, Aphrodite is overtly functioning as goddess of love, and the epithet φιλομμειδής is characteristically used of her in this erotic aspect (Ξ 211). But Aphrodite is also Διὸς θυγάτηρ in this episode (Ξ 193), and the epithet points decisively to her kinship with Zeus. At the beginning of their dialogue, Hera asks Aphrodite if she would be willing to grant her a favor:

ἦ ῥά νύ μοί τι πίθοιο, φίλον τέκος, ὅττι κεν εἴπω,
ἦέ κεν ἀρνήσαιο, κοτεσσαμένη τό γε θυμῷ,
οὕνεκ' ἐγὼ Δαναοῖσι, σὺ δὲ Τρώεσσιν ἀρήγεις;
(Ξ 190-192)

Hera's phrase φίλον τέκος, while it need not imply a parental relationship to Aphrodite (not Hera but Dione is Aphrodite's mother in the *Iliad*), still prepares us to see Aphrodite as a younger

goddess receptive to the request of her elder, whom she addresses as πρέσβα θεά. In the following lines there is an obvious distinction made between the generation of Hera (θύγατερ μεγάλοιο Κρόνοιο) and that of Aphrodite (Διὸς θυγάτηρ):

τὴν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη·
Ἥρη, πρέσβα θεά, θύγατερ μεγάλοιο Κρόνοιο,
αὔδα ὅ τι φρονέεις· τελέσαι δέ με θυμὸς ἄνωγεν
εἰ δύναμαι τελέσαι γε καὶ εἰ τετελεσμένον ἐστίν.

(Ξ 193-196)

The only attestation of Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη in the *Odyssey* is in the Lay of Demodocus. Here again the epithet identifies Aphrodite as Zeus' daughter. Hephaestus, returning home to find the lovers Aphrodite and Ares caught in his net, summons all the gods to come witness his wife's unfaithfulness:

Ζεῦ πάτερ ἠδ' ἄλλοι μάκαρες θεοὶ αἰὲν ἐόντες,
δεῦθ' ἵνα ἔργα γελαστὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιεικτὰ ἴδησθε,
ὡς ἐμὲ χωλὸν ἐόντα Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη
αἰὲν ἀτιμάζει, φιλέει δ' ἀίδηλον Ἄρηα,
οὕνεχ' ὁ μὲν καλός τε καὶ ἀρτίπος, αὐτὰρ ἐγώ γε
ἠπεδανὸς γενόμην.

(θ 306-311)

Calling on Zeus first of all, Hephaestus soon makes the connection between Aphrodite and her father more explicit. A few lines later, Hephaestus demands that his father-in-law give back the bride-gifts:

. . . ἀλλά σφωε δόλος καὶ δεσμὸς ἐρύξει,
εἰς ὅ κέ μοι μάλα πάντα πατὴρ ἀποδῷσιν ἔεδνα,
ὅσσα οἱ ἐγγυάλιξα κυνώπιδος εἵνεκα κούρης,
οὕνεκά οἱ καλὴ θυγάτηρ ἀτὰρ οὐκ ἐχέθυμος.

(θ 317-320)

Here the epithet Διὸς θυγάτηρ reinforces Hephaestus' complaint to Zeus concerning Aphrodite's misbehavior. A pattern of diction is built up on the father-daughter relationship: Ζεῦ πάτερ . . . Διὸς θυγάτηρ . . . πατὴρ ἀποδῷσιν ἔεδνα . . . θυγάτηρ. The use of the formula Ζεῦ πάτερ at the beginning of Hephaestus' speech may have suggested the subsequent use of Διὸς θυγάτηρ rather than φιλομμειδής.

The formula Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη is therefore used in some contexts to emphasize Aphrodite's synchronic relationship with Zeus. This filial relationship, however, does not explain all the uses of the epithet. Διὸς θυγάτηρ also maintains its 'diachronic' significance, in contexts which are related to the traditional functions of the Dawn-goddess in Greek epic. Comparative evidence suggests that some of these functions derive ultimately from the role of the Dawn-goddess in the Indo-European tradition.

The Dawn-goddess, or her functional hypostasis in Greek epic, often figures in an episode which in its most complete form involves the snatching away, hiding, and preserving of another character. This pattern, which has been analyzed in detail by Nagy,[1] is most fully attested in the story of Eos and Tithonus as told by Aphrodite:

ὣς δ' αὖ Τιθωνὸν χρυσόθρονος ἥρπασεν Ἠὼς
ὑμετέρης γενεῆς ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισι.
βῆ δ' ἴμεν αἰτήσουσα κελαινεφέα Κρονίωνα
ἀθάνατόν τ' εἶναι καὶ ζώειν ἤματα πάντα·
τῇ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐπένευσε καὶ ἐκρήηνεν ἐέλδωρ.
νηπίη, οὐδ' ἐνόησε μετὰ φρεσὶ πότνια Ἠὼς
ἥβην αἰτῆσαι, ξῦσαί τ' ἄπο γῆρας ὀλοιόν.
τὸν δ' ἦ τοι εἵως μὲν ἔχεν πολυήρατος ἥβη,
Ἠοῖ τερπόμενος χρυσοθρόνῳ ἠριγενείῃ
ναῖε παρ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοῇς ἐπὶ πείρασι γαίης·
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πρῶται πολιαὶ κατέχυντο ἔθειραι
καλῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς εὐηγενέος τε γενείου,
τοῦ δ' ἦ τοι εὐνῆς μὲν ἀπείχετο πότνια Ἠώς,
αὐτὸν δ' αὖτ' ἀτίταλλεν ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔχουσα
σίτῳ τ' ἀμβροσίῃ τε καὶ εἵματα καλὰ διδοῦσα.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πάμπαν στυγερὸν κατὰ γῆρας ἔπειγεν
οὐδέ τι κινῆσαι μελέων δύνατ' οὐδ' ἀναεῖραι,
ἥδε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνετο βουλή·
ἐν θαλάμῳ κατέθηκε, θύρας δ' ἐπέθηκε φαεινάς.
τοῦ δ' ἦ τοι φωνὴ ῥεῖ ἄσπετος, οὐδέ τι κῖκυς
ἔσθ' οἵη πάρος ἔσκεν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν.

(*H. Aph.* 218-238)

A variation of this pattern is preserved in the *Odyssey*. Calypso, whose name suggests her function as a 'hider' (cf. καλύπτειν), detains and preserves Odysseus. She does not overtly kidnap him,

[1] Nagy, 'Phaethon,' pp. 156 ff.

but effectively prevents his return home by keeping him on her distant island. While he is there, Calypso nurtures him and even promises him immortality (ε 130-136 and *passim*).

On the narrative level of the *Iliad*, the abduction-preservation story takes the form of the rescue of a warrior. Aphrodite, the protectress of the Trojans,[1] is most often the agent of such a rescue, and in this context she invariably receives the epithet Διὸς θυγάτηρ.

The first example of such a rescue comes in the story of the supposedly decisive combat between Paris and Menelaus. Paris is defeated and Menelaus starts to drag him off the battlefield, pulling him by the helmet-strap, but Aphrodite intervenes:

> καί νύ κεν εἴρυσσέν τε καὶ ἄσπετον ἤρατο κῦδος,
> εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὀξὺ νόησε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη,
> ἥ οἱ ῥῆξεν ἱμάντα βοὸς ἶφι κταμένοιο·
>
> (Γ 373-375)
>
> . . . τὸν δ' ἐξήρπαξ' Ἀφροδίτη
> ῥεῖα μάλ', ὥς τε θεός, ἐκάλυψε δ' ἄρ' ἠέρι πολλῇ,
> κὰδ δ' εἷσ' ἐν θαλάμῳ εὐώδεϊ κηώεντι.
>
> (Γ 380-382)

In this episode, of course, Aphrodite overtly snatches away Paris to save him, not to make him her husband. But the erotic element which is often present in the 'abduction' stories may be latently preserved in the next episode, when Aphrodite brings Helen to Paris in their bedchamber.[2] To illustrate the contrast in the use of the two equimetrical epithets, it may be noted that whereas Aphrodite as Paris' protectress is Διὸς θυγάτηρ (Γ 374), Aphrodite as Helen's procuress, so to speak, is φιλομμειδής (Γ 424).

Another Διὸς θυγάτηρ episode occurs when Aeneas has been wounded by Diomedes. Aphrodite saves her son by covering him with her peplos:

> καί νύ κεν ἔνθ' ἀπόλοιτο ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Αἰνείας,
> εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὀξὺ νόησε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη,
> μήτηρ, ἥ μιν ὑπ' Ἀγχίσῃ τέκε βουκολέοντι·
> ἀμφὶ δ' ἑὸν φίλον υἱὸν ἐχεύατο πήχεε λευκώ,
> πρόσθε δέ οἱ πέπλοιο φαεινοῦ πτύγμ' ἐκάλυψεν . . .
>
> (E 311-315)

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[1] Eos, like Aphrodite, is connected with a Trojan, her lover Tithonus.

[2] For the latent erotic relationship between Aphrodite and Paris in this episode, cf. below, pp. 61-62.

The notion of hiding the saved hero is present here also, as in the Paris episode (Γ 381). The ways in which Aphrodite hides the two heroes may suggest her origin as the 'bright cloud' variant of the Dawn-goddess.[1] She hides Paris in a cloud (ἠέρι πολλῇ, Γ 381) and covers Aeneas with her 'bright arms' (πήχεε λευκώ) and her 'shining peplos' (πέπλοιο φαεινοῦ, and compare the epithet of the Dawn-goddess Eos, κροκόπεπλος).

Earlier in *Iliad* 5, Athena warned Diomedes not to fight with any god except Aphrodite, whom she identified as Διὸς θυγάτηρ (E 130-132). Diomedes recognizes Aphrodite as she saves Aeneas and, wounding her on the wrist, he addresses her scornfully:

εἶκε, Διὸς θύγατερ, πολέμου καὶ δηιοτῆτος·
ἦ οὐχ ἅλις, ὅττι γυναῖκας ἀνάλκιδας ἠπεροπεύεις;
εἰ δὲ σύ γ' ἐς πόλεμον πωλήσεαι, ἦ τέ σ' ὀίω
ῥιγήσειν πόλεμόν γε, καὶ εἴ χ' ἑτέρωθι πύθηαι.
(E 348-351)

In saving Aeneas, Aphrodite is functioning as a traditional Διὸς θυγάτηρ, and Diomedes addresses her as such. But the use of Διὸς θυγάτηρ in this context actually amounts to a play between the diachronic and synchronic connotations of the epithet, or, to put it in different terms, between Aphrodite's roles as (would-be) savior of Trojans and as Zeus' daughter, the goddess of love. Diomedes tells Aphrodite to leave war alone and be content with 'seducing weak women,' that is, with her allotted role on the synchronic level of the *Iliad*. Soon after Diomedes' insult, Zeus himself paternally advises his daughter to work within her own sphere, the ἱμερόεντα . . . ἔργα γάμοιο (E 429).

In the *Theomachia* episode, Aphrodite again appears in the traditional Διὸς θυγάτηρ role of protectress. She tries to lead away Ares, who has been beaten by Athena:

τὸν δ' ἄγε χειρὸς ἑλοῦσα Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη
πυκνὰ μάλα στενάχοντα· μόγις δ' ἐσαγείρετο θυμόν
(Φ 416-417)

Athena, however, throws down both Ares and Aphrodite and taunts them. Again Aphrodite is unsuccessful: the traditional Διὸς θυγάτηρ function, which she has inherited from the Dawn-

[1] Cf. above, pp. 10-13.

goddess tradition, is not felt to be appropriate for her synchronic role as love goddess.

In one more *Iliad* episode, Διὸς θυγάτηρ 'Αφροδίτη functions as a protectress, this time with more success. When Achilles attempts to mutilate Hector's corpse, Aphrodite helps to preserve it by keeping away the dogs and anointing it with oil:

> ἀλλὰ κύνας μὲν ἄλαλκε Διὸς θυγάτηρ 'Αφροδίτη,
> ἤματα καὶ νύκτας, ῥοδόεντι δὲ χρῖεν ἐλαίῳ,
> ἀμβροσίῳ ἵνα μή μιν ἀποδρύφοι ἑλκυστάζων·
>
> (Ψ 185-187)

In this context, as before in the Aeneas episode (E 344-346), the work of Aphrodite is finished by Apollo (Ψ 188-191). The Dawn-goddess and the Sun-god share the role of 'preserver' by saving Aeneas from the Danaans and by protecting Hector's corpse from the effects of exposure.

Διὸς θυγάτηρ 'Αφροδίτη is associated with another traditional function of the Dawn-goddess in the passage from the *Hymn to Apollo*. Aphrodite dances on Olympus with the Horai, Hebe, and other goddesses:

> αὐτὰρ ἐυπλόκαμοι Χάριτες καὶ ἐύφρονες Ὧραι
> 'Αρμονίη θ' Ἥβη τε Διὸς θυγάτηρ 'Αφροδίτη
> ὀρχεῦντ' ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχουσαι·
>
> (*H. Ap.* 194-196)

As the next chapter will show, in both Greek epic and the Vedic hymns, the reflexes of the Indo-European Dawn-goddess (**Ausōs*) are associated with dancing and dancing places.

CHAPTER TWO

APHRODITE AND THE ΧΟΡΟΣ

In Greek epic Aphrodite is frequently associated with themes of dance and song, especially through formulas including the word χορός.[1] She dances with other goddesses on Olympus (*H. Ap.* 194-196), joins the dances of the Charites (σ 194), and claims to have been snatched away from a dance in honor of Artemis (*H. Aph.* 117-118). Furthermore, patterns of diction, such as frequent collocations with ἵμερος and related words, connect the χορός with the role of Aphrodite as goddess of love.

Aphrodite's connection with the χορός arises from several sources, including but not limited to diction associated with the Indo-European Dawn-goddess. The χορός passages in Greek epic also reflect aspects of cult history, and Aphrodite's association with the χορός is due in part to her cult function as a fertility goddess. An analysis of her relation to the χορός will draw on many types of evidence, therefore, and thus may provide some insight into the complex nature of Aphrodite in epic.

Because some contexts of χορός in Greek epic apparently refer to actual cult dances, it will be useful to review briefly the history of dancing and dancing-places in pre-Greek and archaic Greek religion. Sacred dances seem to have been an important feature of the Minoan religion, to have persisted in Crete through historical times, and perhaps to have influenced the development of cult dances among the Greeks.[2]

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[1] Aphrodite was commonly associated with dancing in later times too. Lucian, *On the Dance* 11, refers to the Spartan dances 'dear to Dionysus and Aphrodite'. A verse from modern Sicily suggests a long duration of her connection with the dance on that island, where there was a flourishing cult of Venus Erycina, successor to Aphrodite in Roman times, who apparently was metathesized into a Christian saint:

O santa Venera,
Si bella, si tenera,
Che in Paradiso
Tripa avanti Gesú.

(Quoted in William Ridgeway, *The Dramas and Religious Dances of non-European Races* [Cambridge 1915] p. 10.)

[2] The Minoan dance forms and their historical influence are discussed by Lillian B. Lawler, *The Dance in Ancient Greece* (London, Black, 1964), Ch. 2.

One Minoan dance form was a simple circle-dance, apparently performed by women, as illustrated on the famous Isopata ring (ca. 1500 B.C.).[1] (In fact this dance type is amply illustrated from all periods of pre-Greek and Greek art, a fact which indicates its long history in Greek religion.) The ring shows three women dancing among flowers, with a smaller female figure near them. This figure, variously interpreted by religious historians, is most frequently considered a representation of the goddess the women are invoking by their dance.[2]

Several local traditions, as well as a passage in the *Iliad*, indicate the importance of the dance in connection with the Cretan figure Ariadne, whose cult may have given way to Aphrodite's. In the *Iliad*, a dance-floor shown on the shield of Achilles is compared to the one made by Daedalus for Ariadne in Cnossus (Σ 590-592). Pausanias mentions a τῆς Ἀριάδνης χορός carved in white marble by Daedalus and still to be seen at Cnossus (9.40.3). Another artifact attributed to Daedalus is mentioned by Pausanias in the same context. It is a small wooden image of Aphrodite on Delos, which Theseus got from Ariadne. After her death he dedicated it to 'to the god' (presumably Apollo), dancing with his rescued youths the labyrinthine *geranos*.[3] This legend suggests a direct connection between Aphrodite's worship and the Cretan cult dances. Aphrodite appears to be replacing, in part, the old Minoan goddess Ariadne, who is in turn reduced to mortal status.[4]

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[1] The Isopata ring has been frequently reproduced, e.g. in Sir Arthur Evans' monumental work, *The Palace of Minos* (London, Macmillan, 1935), vol. III, Fig. 38, p. 68. Contemporary Minoan illustrations of circle-dances in paved areas, surrounded by spectators, complement the documentation of the dance provided by the Isopata ring. Cf. e.g. the fresco reproduced in Evans, *op. cit.*, vol. III, plate xviii.

[2] As in Lawler, *op. cit.*, p. 32, and Martin Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, second edition (New York, Biblo and Tannen, 1971), pp. 279-280. But T. B. L. Webster, *The Greek Chorus* (London, Methuen, 1970), p. 5, remarks that 'it is uncertain whether she is the leader of the dancers or the epiphany of the goddess whom they are invoking.' The figure could also be interpreted as a bell-shaped image of the goddess, cf. Axel W. Persson, *The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times*, (Berkeley, Univ. of Calif. Press, 1942), p. 49.

[3] The *geranos* dance is often associated with the unusual dance of alternate boys and girls on the Francois vase, cf. Lawler, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-7.

[4] This replacement theory is discussed by Lewis Richard Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. II, pp. 631-4. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 524 note 61, is reluctant to accept a theory of cult replacement, on the grounds that 'the 'fable may be an invention attached to the myth of Theseus' to exalt the cult and

A fragment of Aeolic lyric further attests the traditional association of Crete with a sacred dance:[1]

Κρῆσσαί νύ ποτ' ὦδ' ἐμμελέως πόδεσσιν
ὤρχηντ' ἀπάλοισ' ἀμφ' ἐρόεντα βῶμον
πόας τέρεν ἄνθος μάλακον μάτεισαι

(*Incerti Auctoris Frag.* 16 LP)

Not only Crete and Delos but Cyprus as well furnishes evidence for dances in the cult of a goddess. Several Cypriote terracotta groups of the Early Geometric period illustrate circle dances.[2] An archaic bronze bowl shows six female dancers and three male musicians before the image of a goddess.[3] One of the dancers carries a flower, a typical attribute of Aphrodite in art, so the goddess on the Cypriote bowl may be Aphrodite herself, possibly in her aspect as 'Ιεροκηπίς (to whom there was a cult at Paphos [4]) or Ἄνθεια (who was worshipped at Cnossus [5]).

In a recent work on the χορός, T. B. L. Webster refers to illustrations of circle dancers on pre-Homeric pottery,[6] many fragments of which come from places where fertility goddesses are known to have had prominent cults (e.g. Artemis at Sparta). The circle dance in a flowery place was a widespread and durable type in art as it was in cult. As a fertility goddess (although one who originated as a celestial rather than a chthonic figure), Aphrodite shared in this tradition.[7]

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cult-image at Delos. Other sources, however, e.g. Sappho 2 LP, seem to reaffirm Aphrodite's connection with Crete.

[1] Another Aeolic fragment apparently reflects a tradition that Aphrodite's worship came from Crete. The goddess is summoned to a lovely setting:

δεῦρύ μ' ἐκ Κρήτας ἐπὶ τόνδε ναῦον
ἄγνον, ὄππαι τοι χάριεν μὲν ἄλσος
μαλίαν, βῶμοι δὲ τεθυμιάμε-
νοι λιβανώτῳ . . .

(Sappho 2.1-4 LP)

This setting sounds very much like a dancing-ground; if so, the Sapphic fragment would further connect Aphrodite's cult dances with a Cretan origin. Cf. *Appendix* below, pp. 85ff.

[2] Lawler, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-54.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 54.

[4] Strabo 14.6.3. Cf. Farnell, *op. cit.*, p. 642.

[5] Hesychius, *s.v.* Ἄνθεια. Possibly similar was the cult of Ἀφροδίτη ἐν Κήποις on the acropolis at Athens (Pausanias 1.19.2).

[6] Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[7] Farnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 750-751 (note 107), quotes the ancient sources for Aphrodite's cult function as a fertility goddess.

A review of the contexts of χορός in epic will show how the use of the term relates in some ways to actual cult practices, as well as to specific characters in the epic tradition. Such a perspective will help to explain Aphrodite's connection with the χορός from the two standpoints of religious history and traditional poetic language.

First, the Muses are often associated with dancing. They dance (ὀρχεῦνται) around the altar of Zeus on Mount Helicon; there they make their χορούς and 'move with their feet,' ἐπερρώσαντο δὲ ποσσίν (*Theogony* 4-8). Elsewhere, the Muses are said to have dancing places (λιπαροὶ χοροί) near the top of Olympus (*Theogony* 63). In the Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles* too, the Muses perform in the gods' χορός on Olympus (201-206). Their association with the concept is retained even in the opening line of the late epic *Batrachomyomachia*:

ἀρχόμενος πρῶτον Μουσῶν χορὸν ἐξ Ἑλικῶνος

In the Olympian scene of the *Hymn to Apollo*, another divine χορός is described. The Muses sing while Apollo plays his lyre and other goddesses dance around Artemis:

αὐτὰρ ἐυπλόκαμοι Χάριτες καὶ ἐύφρονες Ὧραι
Ἁρμονίη θ' Ἥβη τε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη
ὀρχεῦντ' ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχουσαι·
τῇσι μὲν οὔτ' αἰσχρὴ μεταμέλπεται οὔτ' ἐλάχεια,
ἀλλὰ μάλα μεγάλη τε ἰδεῖν καὶ εἶδος ἀγητὴ
Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα ὁμότροφος Ἀπόλλωνι.
(*H. Ap.* 194-199)

The notion of the gods' χορός is also illustrated in a short Homeric *Hymn* to Aphrodite, where the Horai are said to go ἐς χορὸν ἱμερόεντα θεῶν (*Hymn* 6.13).

As these examples show, the χορός in epic is often a sacred place populated by groups of goddesses. In the *Odyssey* too there is reference to a divine χορός associated with Aphrodite. Athena anoints Penelope with the κάλλει ἀβροσίῳ used by Κυθέρεια when she goes to the lovely χορός of the Charites (σ 192-194). Aphrodite is linked with the Charites again in a fragment from the *Cypria*:

ἡ δὲ σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη
πλεξάμεναι στεφάνους εὐώδεας, ἄνθεα γαίης,
ἂν κεφαλαῖσιν ἔθεντο θεαὶ λιπαροκρήδεμνοι

Νύμφαι καὶ Χάριτες, ἅμα δὲ χρυσῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ,
καλὸν ἀείδουσαι κατ' ὄρος πολυπιδάκου Ἴδης.
(Athenaeus xv. 682F)

A dance is not overtly mentioned in this passage, but Aphrodite's connection with the Charites and Nymphs, wearing garlands (cf. the στέφανοι of the girls dancing on the shield of Achilles, Σ 597) [1] in a context which explicitly refers to singing, very strongly suggests that here again is a reference to a traditional χορός of the Charites, also alluded to in the *Odyssey* passage cited above.

Like Aphrodite, Artemis is connected with this χορός of the Charites, and also with that of the Muses.[2] She functions as the Charites' leader in a Homeric *Hymn* addressed to her. Returning from the hunt, Artemis puts down her bow in Apollo's house at Delphi:

Μουσῶν καὶ Χαρίτων καλὸν χορὸν ἀρτυνέουσα.
ἔνθα κατακρεμάσασα παλίντονα τόξα καὶ ἰοὺς
ἡγεῖται χαρίεντα περὶ χροῒ κόσμον ἔχουσα,
ἐξάρχουσα χορούς . . .
(*Hymn* 27.15-18)

A connection between Artemis and the Nymphs is reflected in cult, and here too the emphasis is on their dance. Pausanias records the existence of a cult at Caryae in Laconia, where Artemis and the Nymphs were worshipped with annual 'maiden dances' (3.10.7).[3] This type of cult, where Artemis, for example, and a group of goddesses were honored with a sacred dance in an outdoor dancing-ground, may well have provided the historical basis for references in epic to the χορός of Artemis (or Aphrodite) and the Nymphs/Charites/Muses.

The χορός is closely connected with Artemis all through the epic tradition. In a list of the things that please her as the gifts of Aphrodite do not, the dance is mentioned as an interest of the virgin Artemis (*H. Aph.* 19). Elsewhere, however, the χορός of Artemis is a locus of sexual arousal, and so is generally related to Aphrodite's

[1] This fragment is discussed above, pp. 27-28, in connection with the epithet ἐυστέφανος and its rapports in epic with 'garlanded dancers.'

[2] Cf. also *H. Ap.* 194-199, where Artemis is pre-eminent among a group of dancers.

[3] The name of the cult place suggests the worship of an old tree-goddess, since καρύα means 'walnut tree.' Cf. C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry from Alkman to Simonides* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1936), p. 24.

role as love goddess. In several passages, for example, an unsuspecting maiden is snatched away while dancing in the χορὸς Ἀρτέμιδος.

In the *Iliad*, Eudorus' mother Polymele (who alone receives the epithet χορῷ καλή, Π 180) is seen there by Hermes:

> . . . τῆς δὲ κρατὺς Ἀργεϊφόντης
> ἠράσατ', ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδὼν μετὰ μελπομένῃσιν
> ἐν χορῷ Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσηλακάτου κελαδεινῆς.
> αὐτίκα δ' εἰς ὑπερῷ' ἀναβὰς παρελέξατο λάθρῃ
> Ἑρμείας ἀκάκητα, πόρεν δέ οἱ ἀγλαὸν υἱόν . . .
>
> (Π 181-185)

In her guise as Phrygian princess, Aphrodite tells Anchises that Hermes snatched her away from Artemis' χορός to bring her to her destined husband on Mount Ida:

> νῦν δὲ μ' ἀνήρπαξε χρυσόρραπις Ἀργειφόντης
> ἐκ χοροῦ Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσηλακάτου κελαδεινῆς.
> πολλαὶ δὲ νύμφαι καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι
> παίζομεν, ἀμφὶ δ' ὅμιλος ἀπείριτος ἐστεφάνωτο.
>
> (*H. Aph.* 117-120)

Considerable evidence suggests that the dancing-ground was a typical site for a rape in Greek myth and cult.[1] Not only is the χορός attested as such in the epic accounts of Polymele and Aphrodite, but also in several local myths and at least one quasi-historical account. Helen was snatched away by Theseus and Peirithous while dancing (χορεύουσαν) in a festival of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (Plutarch, *Theseus* 31.2). According to a story in Pausanias, Artemis herself was almost raped by her admirer Alpheius while dancing (παίζουσα) with her nymphs at an all-night festival at Letrini in Elis. Recognizing the danger, all the dancers smeared their faces with mud and so confused Alpheius that he went away disappointed (Pausanias 6.22.8-9).

Pausanias also records the 'historical' story of the rape of the Spartan maidens who were dancing for Artemis at Caryae (4.16.9, cf. Pausanias 3.10.7 discussed above). It seems that during the Messenian rebellion against Sparta (about 685 B.C.), the Messenian

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[1] Cf. Lawler, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43, who cites the accounts of Helen, Polymele, and also the Agraulides (cf. Euripides *Ion* 492-502), whose death, however, seems to be unconnected with the rape theme.

commander Aristomenes [1] decided to capture the aristocratic maidens and hold them for ransom. The girls were ambushed and taken from the dancing-ground to a Messenian village. At night the soldiers guarding the maidens tried to rape them, but Aristomenes awoke and saved them, killing the most violent of his men. The similarity of this account to the myths cited above suggests that the mythical story influenced the 'historical' record of the event.[2]

In epic poetry, the Nymphs are also associated with the χορός. They take part in many of the god's activities, including the dance:

αἵ ῥ' οὔτε θνητοῖς οὔτ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἕπονται.
δηρὸν μὲν ζώουσι καὶ ἄμβροτον εἶδαρ ἔδουσι
καί τε μετ' ἀθανάτοισι καλὸν χορὸν ἐρρώσαντο.

(*H. Aph.* 259-261)

In another Homeric *Hymn*, Pan joins the Nymphs as they sing and dance in the mountains (*Hymn* 19.19-23). The Nymphs are associated with dancing in the *Iliad* as well. Achilles describes for Priam the place where Niobe constantly mourns the loss of her children:

νῦν δέ που ἐν πέτρῃσιν, ἐν οὔρεσιν οἰοπόλοισιν,
ἐν Σιπύλῳ, ὅθι φασὶ θεάων ἔμμεναι εὐνὰς
νυμφάων, αἵ τ' ἀμφ' Ἀχελώϊον ἐρρώσαντο,
ἔνθα λίθος περ ἐοῦσα θεῶν ἐκ κήδεα πέσσει.

(Ω 614-617)

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[1] A number of legends grew up around this Messenian hero, cf. Pausanias 4.14.7, 4.16.5, 9.

[2] Why was the χορός so often selected as the site of a rape in epic and cult myth? A possible solution is offered by illustrations of the dances performed in such a place. Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 7 and figure 1, describes a geometric vase fragment from Argos, in which the typical file of linked women is followed by a leaping male dancer; another man, probably a lyre-player, strides in front of the dancers. The role of the jumping man in this illustration of a cult dance is paralleled in epic by that of Ares and Hermes, who 'dance' (παίζουσ', *H. Ap.* 201) among the goddesses dancing on Olympus in the *Hymn to Apollo*. Hermes also figures in the Polymele and Aphrodite episodes (Π 181 and *H. Aph.* 117).

Possibly the male in a women's chorus was originally unconnected with a rape motif. He may have been leaping to stimulate the growth of crops by sympathetic magic (cf. Lawler, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31), which is a common interpretation for ecstatic dance forms in primitive societies. In later times this function may have become obscure, and a myth of rape or thwarted rape could have arisen to account for his presence in the dance.

Another explanation would be that the male dancer in a women's chorus was representing in cult an already existing myth of the rape of a fertility

ἐρρώσαντο here must refer to dancing, as in the phrases καλὸν χορὸν ἐρρώσαντο (*H. Aph.* 261, also of the Nymphs) and ἐρρώσαντο δὲ ποσσίν (*Theogony* 8, of the Muses).

The χορός is frequently mentioned in epic in connection with sources of water, as here with the river Acheloios (cf. *Hymn* 19.20, μ 317-318, *Theogony* 5-8). This association is also reflected in cult. At Eleusis, dances were performed for Demeter by a well, known to Pausanias as the Καλλίχορον (1.38.6).[1]

χορός also occurs in collocation with words suggesting the concepts of vegetal growth and sexual union, which would further establish a link between the χορός and the functions of Aphrodite. The epithet ἱμερόεντα, for example, is often applied to χορόν (σ 194, Σ 603, *Hymn* 6.13, *Sh. Her.* 280, *H. Her.* 481; in the plural, *Theogony* 7). Adjectival derivatives of ἵμερος, it is true, are often used of music and song,[2] and this fact alone might explain the use of the epithet with χορός. But in view of the other associations of the dancing-ground, especially as it functions in the rape stories as the locus of sexual arousal (e.g. of Hermes for Polymele), it may not be wrong to postulate a deeper significance for the formulas in which ἵμερος is collocated with χορός.

ἵμερος and its derivatives are often associated with Aphrodite herself, and with sexual passion in general, as in the formulas γλυκὺν ἵμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῷ (Γ 139, *H. Aph.* 45, 53, 143) and (γλυκὺς) ἵμερος αἱρεῖ (Γ 446, Ξ 328, cf. *H. Aph.* 57). Aphrodite's breasts are ἱμερόεντα (Γ 397); her sphere of activity is the ἱμερόεντα ... ἔργα γάμοιο (E 429). In the *Dios apate* episode ἵμερος is one of the characteristics of Aphrodite which she lends to Hera (Ξ 198, 216). Ἵμερος personified, along with Eros, accompanies Aphrodite to the assembled gods after her birth (*Theogony* 201).

The frequent association in epic diction between ἵμερος and Aphrodite needs no further illustration, but attention may be drawn to a context which shows an overt connection between

goddess. The χορός in epic could thus have become linked with the myth in which a rape occurred, and which was ritually acted out in the dancing-ground.

[1] George E. Mylonas, who excavated the well at Eleusis, discusses both its topography and its significance as related to cult dances. Cf. Mylonas, *The Hymn to Demeter and Her Sanctuary at Eleusis* (St. Louis, Washington Univ. Studies, 1942), pp. 76-77, and *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1961), p. 73.

[2] E.g. ὀρχηστύν τε καὶ ἱμερόεσσαν ἀοιδήν (α 421, σ 304), ἱμερόεις βρόμος αὐλῶν (*H. Hermes* 452), ἱμερόεν κιθάριζε (Σ 570).

ἵμερος and χορός. The god of Desire, together with the Charites, dwells near the χοροί of the Muses on Olympus:

> ἔνθα σφιν λιπαροί τε χοροὶ καὶ δώματα καλά.
> πὰρ δ' αὐτῇς Χάριτές τε καὶ Ἵμερος οἰκί' ἔχουσιν
> ἐν θαλίῃς·
>
> (*Theogony* 63-65)

This collocation, along with the well-attested meaning of ἵμερος as sexual desire, and its use in formulas describing the arousal of that desire, suggests that ἱμερόεις as an epithet of χορός may originally have meant something more than just 'lovely' (to look at). The epithet may have applied to the dancing ground with the same force as it does in the phrases ἱμερόεντα στῆθεα (Γ 397) and ἱμερόεντα ἔργα γάμοιο (Ε 429), in the sense of '(the place) where desire is aroused'. In any case, the dancing-ground as a place of ἵμερος provides another association between the χορός and the role of Aphrodite as love goddess.

Another group of words often associated with χορός is θαλός and its derivatives, as in *Theogony* 65 above. This traditional collocation reinforces a connection also found in cult between the dancing-ground and goddesses of fertility and growth.

In several attestations the θαλ- stem seems to mean no more than 'revelry' or 'joy,' as in the *Hymn to Hermes*: ἐς δαῖτα θάλειαν/καὶ χορὸν ἱμερόεντα (480-481) and χοροί . . . καὶ μολπὴ τεθαλυῖα (451-452), and in the *Shield of Herakles* 276-277 and 284. In other contexts, however, the relation between the χορός and the θαλός is more significant. In Odysseus' flattering speech to Nausicaa he talks about how happy she must make her family:

> . . . μάλα τού σφισι θυμὸς
> αἰὲν ἐυφροσύνῃσιν ἰαίνεται εἵνεκα σεῖο,
> λευσσόντων τοιόνδε θάλος χορὸν εἰσοιχνεῦσαν.
>
> (ζ 155-157)

Here the dancer herself is called a 'growing thing,' θάλος. In another Phaeacian context, Nausicaa herself mentions her unmarried brothers who, she says, like to wear clean clothes when they go to the χορός (ζ 62-65); she refers to the youths as ἠίθεοι θαλέθοντες.

The formulaic association of χορός with θάλος, in both its vegetative and human significance, suggests that the youths and maidens who dance in the χορός are under the protection of its presiding

goddess, like the plants whose growth also depends on her. Aphrodite herself, like Artemis and other goddesses,[1] is associated in cults with the protection and growth of vegetal life [2] and of children as well.[3] In Crete, for example, Aphrodite σκοτία at Phaistos was presumably the patroness of the σκοτίοι, boys undergoing a rite of passage during which they were secluded from the city for a two-month period.[4] The title Κουροτρόφος, which Aphrodite shares with Artemis and other goddesses, may have applied originally to the goddess as a nourisher of plants and children alike.[5]

Finally, a Homeric *Hymn* to Mother Earth preserves the traditional association between flowering χοροί and children flourishing under the protection of a fertility goddess:

> παῖδες δ' εὐφροσύνῃ νεοθηλέι κυδιόωσι
> παρθενικαί τε χοροῖς πολυανθέσιν εὔφρονι θυμῷ
> παίζουσαι σκαίρουσι κατ' ἄνθεα μαλθακὰ ποίης,
> οὓς κε σὺ τιμήσῃς, σεμνὴ θεά, ἄφρονε δαῖμον.
>
> (*Hymn* 30.13-16)

Besides the noun χορός itself there is a pair of compound epithets derived from it in epic, εὐρύχορος and καλλίχορος. A brief survey of their occurrences in the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Hymns* (the words are not attested in the Hesiodic corpus) will show that the use of these epithets often correlates with the existence of historical dancing-grounds.

The compounds form an economical system of epithets, since they are equimetrical but one begins with a vowel and the other with a consonant. It is probable that they would perform the same lexical function, i.e. to describe a place famous for its dancing-ground(s). At least this would have been the original function of the pair of epithets; after they became standardized in particular metrical

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[1] For other examples of this double function, cf. Linda Clader, *Helen: The Evolution from Divine to Heroic in Greek Epic Tradition*, pp. 113-114.

[2] Farnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 750-751 (note 107), lists the cults of Aphrodite as a vegetation goddess; cf. also his discussion of this function, *ibid.*, pp. 642-643.

[3] Aphrodite's function as *Kourotrophos* is cited in Athenaeus 441F (from Plato), *Anth. Pal.* 6.318 (Κύπριδι Κουροτρόφῳ) *et al.*; collected in Farnell, *op. cit.*, p. 759 (note 118), and discussed p. 655.

[4] R. F. Willetts, *Cretan Cults and Festivals* (London, Routledge and Paul, 1962), pp. 285-286. Willetts refers to *Etymologicum Magnum s.v.* Κυθέρεια.

[5] This is the opinion of Clader, *loc. cit.* Her argument is based on the etymology of κοῦρος from a root κορϜ-, 'shoot' or 'branch,' and from Artemis' function as protectress of both vegetal and human growth at Sparta.

slots [1] they could have been applied also to the names of other places, where this would be metrically convenient.[2]

One of the places appropriately described by the χορός epithets is Lacedaemon, which receives the epithet εὐρύχορος twice (ν 414 and ο 1). Dancing-grounds figured prominently in the cults of Artemis and other divinities in the territory around Sparta.[3] The Spartan agora was itself called a χορός in Pausanias' time (Pausanias 3.11.9), and the Lacedaemonians were traditionally associated with χοροὶ καὶ Μοῖσα καὶ Ἀγλαΐα (Pindar, *Frag.* 199.3 Snell).[4]

Panopeus is another place to which the χορός compounds would be significantly related. Pausanias (10.4.3) says candidly that he was curious about Homer's use of the epithet καλλίχορος for Panopeus, until he learned that the Thyiads stopped there to dance on their way from Athens to Parnassus to celebrate the festival of Dionysus. The only Homeric reference to Panopeus may even preserve a latent rape-from-χορός episode, for Leto was seized there by Tityus on her way to Pytho (λ 580-581).

Other place-names which receive the χορός epithets are Thebes (λ 265, *Hymn* 15.2), Hyperia (ζ 4), Iolcus (λ 256), Elis (δ 635), Sicyon (Ψ 4), Hellas (I 478), and the citadel at Ithaca (ω 468). The epithets may be applied significantly to some or all of these places, especially to the Phaeacians' former homeland Hyperia, which I believe reflects one of the original contexts of χορός in epic.[5]

The χορός in epic diction is part of a nexus of concepts suggesting luxury, delight, and especially the arts of peace. Through her synchronic role in the Homeric epics, where she is primarily the goddess of love, Aphrodite also shares in this pattern. The most direct evidence for this thematic association between Aphrodite and the χορός comes in those passages which contrast the world of peace with the world of war.

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1 The two most common slots for the epithets are at the beginning of the fourth foot (B 498, Ψ 299, ζ 4, λ 256, λ 581) and the beginning of the second foot (δ 635, λ 265, ν 414, ο 1).

2 This conclusion is based on the obvious proposition that every epithet was originally significant for the noun or class of nouns for which it was formulated. Cf. Milman Parry, 'The Traditional Epithet in Homer,' *MHV* p. 156.

3 Cf. above, pp. 47-49.

4 Cf. a fragment from the lyric poet Pratinus (709 P):

Λάκων ὁ τέττιξ εὔτυκτος ἐς χορόν

5 The significance of εὐρύχορος as applied to Hyperia is discussed below, pp. 59-60.

In some contexts this contrast of worlds is implicit, as in the scene where Odysseus challenges the Phaeacians to a contest. He lists his special skills (archery, spear-throwing); Alcinous replies that the Phaeacians are not good fighters (πυγμάχοι, παλαισταί), but that they run and sail well, and enjoy many comforts:

αἰεὶ δ' ἧμιν δαίς τε φίλη κίθαρίς τε χ ο ρ ο ί τε
εἵματα τ' ἐξημοιβὰ λοετρά τε θερμὰ καὶ εὐναί.

(θ 248-249)

Here surely the arts of war are being contrasted with those of peace. It is noteworthy that the Phaeacians' interests include elements elsewhere connected with Aphrodite: clothing (cf. *H. Aph.* 64, 85), baths (cf. *H. Aph.* 61, θ 365), and beds!

Aphrodite herself is told several times to function in the world of peace, of sexual love and domesticity. Diomedes harshly tells her to stay within her own sphere of activity and keep away from war (E 348-351). Zeus too reminds Aphrodite that she is not a Hera or an Athena: her role is the ἱμερόεντα . . . ἔργα γάμοιο (E 429).

A contrast between the man of the χορός and the man of war is overt in the *Iliad*, particularly in reference to Aphrodite's protégé Paris and his brother Hector. At one point, Ajax warns the Argives that Hector is successfully rousing the Trojans:

οὐ μὰν ἔς γε χορὸν κέλετ' ἐλθέμεν, ἀλλὰ μάχεσθαι

(O 508)

When Aphrodite herself summons Helen to Paris' chamber, she describes his appearance in exactly opposite terms. He is like a dancer, not a warrior:

κάλλεΐ τε στίλβων καὶ εἵμασιν· οὐδέ γε φαίης
ἀνδρὶ μαχεσσάμενον τόν γ' ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ χ ο ρ ό ν δ ε
ἔρχεσθ', ἠὲ χ ο ρ ο ῖ ο νέον λήγοντα καθίζειν.

(Γ 392-394)

Finally the contrast between the brothers is expressed by Priam as he berates Paris and the other surviving Trojan princes. Priam names his dead sons Mestor, Troilus, and Hector, then concludes:

τοὺς μὲν ἀπώλεσ' Ἄρης, τὰ δ' ἐλέγχεα πάντα λέλειπται,
ψεῦσταί τ' ὀ ρ χ η σ τ α ί τε, χ ο ρ ο ιτυπίῃσιν ἄριστοι,
ἀρνῶν ἠδ' ἐρίφων ἐπιδήμιοι ἁρπακτῆρες.

(Ω 260-262)

The χορός, like Aphrodite, belongs to the world of peace. A close connection with the χορός serves as a basis of Priam's reproach to Paris, as his close association with Aphrodite provided a basis for Hector's reproach to Paris earlier in the *Iliad*:

οὐκ ἄν τοι χραίσμῃ κίθαρις τά τε δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης,
ἥ τε κόμη τό τε εἶδος, ὅτ' ἐν κονίῃσι μιγείης.
(Γ 54-55)

The preceding survey indicates that χορός in epic may reflect historical cult practices, and that it is also associated with Aphrodite as part of a set of concepts related to her synchronic epic function as love goddess. The original lexical significance of χορός in Greek, and its probable meaning in the inherited poetic and mythological tradition will be examined next. In its diachronic significance too, it will be seen that is related to Aphrodite and to the traditional diction associated with her.

There is general agreement on the formal etymology of the word: it is derived from the root **gher-* and is cognate with Indic *hṛ* 'to bring, place' and Lithuanian *žãras* 'row, arrangement.' The *to-* derivative of the **gher-* stem provides Greek χορτός 'feeding-yard,' Latin *hortus* 'garden,' Old Irish *garth* 'pen,' Gothic *gards* 'house,' and a number of other cognates.[1]

The primitive meaning of χορός in Greek is still a matter of dispute. Frisk, while warning that the issue is still not settled, tends to follow Wilamowitz, Porzig, and others in suggesting that the word first meant 'ring-dance.' [2] Boisacq, however, agrees with Curtius, Doederlein, and others in maintaining that the original sense was 'dancing-place.' [3]

The evidence from Greek epic supports the argument for the meaning 'dancing-place,' although even in the Homeric corpus developments from this primitive meaning are apparent. Several attestations of χορός in epic clearly require the meaning 'dancing-ground,' as the following instances show.

Prominent among the scenes on the Achilles' shield is a χορός in which young men and maidens dance:

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[1] Hjalmar Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. II, pp. 1113-1114, *s.v.* χορός.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 1112-1113, *s.v.* χορός.

[3] Émile Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, p. 1067, *s.v.* χορός.

ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποίκιλλε περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις
τῷ ἴκελον οἷόν ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνωσῷ εὐρείῃ
Δαίδαλος ἤσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμῳ 'Αριάδνῃ.
ἔνθα μὲν ἠΐθεοι καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι
ὠρχεῦντ', ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχοντες.

(Σ 590-594)

If this χορός is 'like the one which Daedalus *built*' (ἤσκησεν), it must be a *place* rather than a type of dance.

The Phaeacians in the *Odyssey* have a χορός which figures prominently in their society. Nausicaa mentions that her brothers like to wear clean clothes when they go to the χορός (ζ 65). Odysseus talks about the pride Nausicaa's family must feel as they watch her χορὸν εἰσοιχνεῦσαν (ζ 157). When Alcinous orders an exhibition of music and dancing for Odysseus, the dancing floor is smoothed (apparently it is not paved) for the performers:

λείηναν δὲ χορόν, καλὸν δ' εὔρυναν ἀγῶνα.
κῆρυξ δ' ἐγγύθεν ἦλθε φέρων φόρμιγγα λίγειαν
Δημοδόκῳ· ὁ δ' ἔπειτα κί' ἐς μέσον· ἀμφὶ δὲ κοῦροι
πρωθῆβαι ἵσταντο, δαήμονες ὀρχηθμοῖο,
πέπληγον δὲ χορὸν θεῖον ποσίν . . .

(θ 260-264)

Both attestations of χορόν in this context demand the meaning 'dancing-*place*' rather than 'ring-dance.' (The χορός here described is, incidentally, the scene of Demodocus' song of Ares and Aphrodite; perhaps the sacred χορός outside the palace has been selected as an appropriate setting for a story about Aphrodite and other gods. Elsewhere, when he sings secular songs, Demodocus performs in the banquet hall, cf. θ 65-66.)

Another indication that χορός originally meant a place is the syntax of the word in some of its most common formulas. Often in epic χορόν is used as the object of a verb of motion, a usage especially appropriate to a term denoting a place. Thus Aphrodite anoints herself εὖτ' ἂν ἴῃ Χαρίτων χορὸν ἱμερόεντα (σ 194); Odysseus visualizes Nausicaa χορὸν εἰσοιχνεῦσαν (ζ 157). Other examples of χορόν as the object of motion include the following:

χορόνδε/ἔρχεσθ' (Γ 393-394)
ἔς γε χορὸν κέλετ' ἐλθέμεν (Ο 508)
ἐς χορὸν ἔρχεσθαι (ζ 65)
ἴοιεν ἐς χορόν (*Hymn* 6.12-13)

It is true, however, that πόλεμος, δεῖπνον, and other words apparently referring to activities (parallel to the concept 'ring-dance'), are similarly used as objects of 'motion towards,' so this argument for the original significance of χορός as a place rather than an activity is not conclusive.

In several passages a form of χορός is syntactically parallel to another noun which clearly means a place, as in the phrases οἰκία καὶ χοροί (μ 4), χοροὶ ἠδὲ θόωκοι (μ 318) χοροὶ καὶ δώματα καλά (*Theogony* 63, cf. *Hymn* 6.13 for a full-line 'expansion' of this formula). These formulations, in contexts which support a translation like 'house(s) and grounds,' may in fact preserve a trace of an earlier, more general meaning of χορός as 'enclosed area' or 'yard,' rather than specifically 'dancing area.'

Internal evidence in Greek epic also supports the arguments for the primitive meaning of χορός as a (dancing) yard. Not all dances in epic are associated with a χορός. Rather the word is consistently used of those dances (not restricted to ring-dances) which take place within a prescribed outdoor area, often surrounded by spectators.

Thus Demodocus and the Phaeacian youths perform the story of Ares and Aphrodite in a χορός (θ 260). Aphrodite says she was snatched out of a χορός surrounded by spectators (*H. Aph.* 117-120). Hermes seems to be in a group of spectators again in the Polymele passage (Π 181-183), although the setting of the dance is not explicitly described. In the χορός on the shield of Achilles the youths and maidens, surrounded by spectators, dance in a series of formations (Σ 593-606).[1]

There is only one attestation of χορός in Greek epic where the context requires the meaning 'dance' (i.e. the activity), and which

[1] In contrast to these dances which take place in a closed dancing yard are the two processional dances on the shield of Achilles. One of these is the vintage procession, accompanied by the Linus song (Σ 561-572). The other is a wedding procession (Σ 492-496) in which dancers (κοῦροι ὀρχηστῆρες, Σ 494) bring the brides past the women in their doorways as they lead them through the town.

The *Odyssey* has two references to wedding dances which take place inside a palace. In δ 15-19 a minstrel and tumblers perform during the wedding feast in Menelaus' house, and in ψ 129-47 Odysseus orders a feigned wedding celebration, complete with dancing (ὀρχηθμοῖο, ψ 134, 145), in his own palace. Neither of these indoor wedding entertainments is associated with a χορός, even though some of the dancing may have been similar to dances at other times performed in an outdoor dancing area (cf. the tumblers at Menelaus' feast and the tumblers in the χορός on the shield of Achilles, Σ 604).

would therefore support Frisk's opinion that χορός originally meant 'ring-dance' or the like. When Aphrodite is describing Paris to Helen, she compares him to a man who has just stopped dancing: χοροῖο νεὸν λήγοντα καθίζειν (Γ 394).

In later epic usage, however, the contexts of χορός often reflect a shift from the original sense to the meaning 'group of dancers/singers.' In a passage from the *Shield of Herakles*, for example, χοροί must mean 'groups of dancers' in a wedding procession:

> τῆλε δ' ἀπ' αἰθομένων δαΐδων σέλας εἰλύφαζε
> χερσὶν ἔνι δμῳῶν· ταὶ δ' ἀγλαΐῃ τεθαλυῖαι
> πρόσθ' ἔκιον· τῇσιν δὲ χοροὶ παίζοντες ἕποντο.
> (*Sh. Her.* 275-277)

Other epic passages in which χορός apparently means 'group of dancers' include *Hymn* 27.16-18 and *Batrachomyomachia* 1.

In spite of the developments in the meaning of χορός to include a type of dance or a group of dancers, however, the evidence from epic suggests strongly that the term originally referred to a place. The syntax of χορός in some common formula systems, the distinction retained in epic between χορός dances (i.e. those occurring in outdoor dancing-places) and other types of dances, and especially the fact that in several Homeric contexts χορός *must* refer to a dancing-place, all tend to support this interpretation.

A comparative study of passages in Greek epic and early Indic poetry indicates that Greek χορός reflects a very archaic element in the traditional Indo-European poetic language. In several Vedic hymns, the **gher-* derivative is attested in collocation with the concept of sunrise. In Greek epic too, χορός can refer to the place from which the Dawn comes. This connection with Eos helps to explain why Aphrodite, a descendant of the Dawn-goddess who shares many elements of diction with her predecessor, is associated in epic with χορός.

The Homeric passage on which this argument depends is found in the *Odyssey*, when Odysseus is returning from the underworld to Circe's island, Aiaia, to bury Elpenor. Aiaia is apparently located at the place where the sun rises: [1]

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[1] The traditional association of Circe's island with the West, on the other hand, is noted by Douglas Frame, *The Origins of Greek* ΝΟΥΣ, p. 57. The ambiguous location of Aiaia is an indication of its origin in solar mythology.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ποταμοῖο λίπεν ῥόον Ὠκεανοῖο
νηῦς, ἀπὸ δ' ἵκετο κῦμα θαλάσσης εὐρυπόροιο
νᾶσόν τ' Αἰαίην, ὅθι τ' Ἠοῦς ἠριγενείης
οἰκία καὶ χοροί εἰσι καὶ ἀντολαὶ Ἠελίοιο.

(μ 1-4)

Nothing is overtly attested elsewhere in epic of the χοροί of Eos. A closer look at some other χοροί, however, may suggest the primitive significance of the term in relation to the sunrise.

Later in the *Odyssey*, Odysseus is persuaded to land on the island of Helios, the place where his men will kill the Sun-god's cattle and be doomed to die for their offense. He arrives at a cave of the Nymphs:

ἦμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς,
νῆα μὲν ὡρμίσαμεν κοῖλον σπέος εἰσερύσαντες.
ἔνθα δ' ἔσαν νυμφέων καλοὶ χοροὶ ἠδὲ θοῶκοι.

(μ 316-318)

The very ancient collocation of themes in this story is demonstrated by Frame, who shows that the *Odyssey* story about the cattle of Helios is related to Vedic episodes concerning the cattle of the Sun (*Sūrya*).[1] These herds, which represent the rays of light, are shut in a cave and must be released from it so that the day can come with its renewal of life.

In other Vedic contexts as well, 'cattle' represent the sunlight, as when the Dawn-goddess Uṣas is said to drive a team of 'ruddy cows' (*áruṣīr gā́*).[2] Uṣas' Greek cognate Eos is present in the *Odyssey* passage (μ 316), but the cave and the χοροί are said to belong to the Nymphs. I suggest that the Nymphs are here replacing Eos as mistress of the Sun's cattle, and that their χοροί refer to the same mythological place as the χοροί of Eos attested in μ 4.

Another 'solar' context of the **gher-* stem in Greek epic is latent in the description of the former home of the Phaeacians, Hyperia:

οἳ πρὶν μέν ποτ' ἔναιον ἐν εὐρυχόρῳ Ὑπερείῃ,
ἀγχοῦ Κυκλώπων ἀνδρῶν ὑπερηνορεόντων,
οἵ σφεας σινέσκοντο, βίηφι δὲ φέρτεροι ἦσαν.

(ζ 4-6)

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 52-54. For the Vedic variants of the myth, cf. also Hermann Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (reprinted Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1970), pp. 143-150 (cited by Frame).

[2] Cf. *Rig Veda* 2.24.3, 6.65.5, 10.8.8-9, etc.

The place-name Hyperia strongly suggests an origin in solar mythology, since Ὑπερίων is an epithet of Helios himself (α 8, Θ 480, etc.). In view of the attested χοροί of Eos, and of the Nymphs' χοροί on Helios' island, the epithet εὐρύχορος seems well suited to describe a solar place. The semi-divine character of the Phaeacians, who are so far removed from normal human life, further indicates the possibility that they have no connection with actual geography, but inhabit a purely mythological place. In that place of course the χορός figured quite prominently (cf. ζ 65, ζ 157, ϑ 248, ϑ 260-264).[1]

Comparative evidence also indicates a tradition connecting the **gher-* stem with the abode of the Sun.[2] The Vedic derivative of **gher-*, the verb *hṛ* 'to place, set,' is attested in an impassioned address to the Sun-god:

> váhiṣṭhebhir *viháran* yāsi tántum avavyáyann ásitaṃ
> deva vásma /
>
> Bringing out your web with most powerful horses you come,
> god, tearing apart the black-hued robe.
>
> (*RV* 4.13.4a)

The 'web' of course represents the sunlight [3] and the dark robe, the night.

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[1] The location of Hyperia near the Cyclopes is also significant in terms of Indo-European solar mythology. Frame, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-79, shows that the Cyclopes of the *Odyssey* are thematically similar to solar figures in Vedic myth. Like Vala (*RV* 10.68) they are monstrous cave-dwellers; like Sūrya-Helios himself they have flocks, which they let out in the morning and bring back in the evening. Even the name Cyclops refers to the sun (κύκλος + ὤψ, by haplology, as proposed by Adalbert Kuhn, cf. Frame, *op. cit.*, p. 76). The tradition placing the Phaeacians' Hyperia near the Cyclopes' land perhaps reflects an ancient concept of the Sun-god's ambiguous role as life-giver and death-bringer (cf. Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* [New York, Sheed and Ward, 1958] pp. 135-137, also cited by Frame, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29). The Sun's conflicting attributes may have been expressed in epic by a split of the solar god into two 'races:' the benevolent Phaeacians and the murderous Cyclopes, who, according to ζ 4-6, used to inhabit adjacent lands.

[2] For an extended discussion of **gher-* derivatives in Greek epic, especially in 'solar' contexts, cf. the Appendix below, pp. 85-91, Cf. also Lucian, *On the Dance* 17, for a description of the ritual dance performed by the Indoi at sunrise and sunset each day, in which they 'imitate the dance of the god'.

[3] In Alcman's *Parthenion* (*Frag.* 1.60-63 P) there is perhaps another reference to the 'robe' associated with sunrise. The rising Pleiades vie at dawn with the chorus of maidens carrying the garment (reading φᾶρος 'robe' rather than φάρος 'plough') through the night:

Hṛ is also attested in a Vedic variant of the solar myth reflected in the *Odyssey* story of the cattle of Helios. The hero Bṛhaspati defeats the cave-demon Vala and releases the cattle which Vala has imprisoned. The cattle were closed up in Vala's rock; Bṛhaspati opens it up:

> bṛ́haspátir *uddhárann* áçmano gā bhū́myā́ udnéva ví
> tvácam bibheda //
> ... from the rock Bṛhaspati *brought out* the cattle, and split the earth's skin as if with water.
>
> (*RV* 10.68.4b)

In this hymn the solar hero, as in the previous example the Sun (Sūrya) himself, brings forth the benefits of light. In both cases the verb used to express the action of 'bringing' the light (whether symbolized as a garment or as the cattle) is a compound of *hṛ*.

The *gher- root in the Indo-European poetic tradition thus apparently functioned in a solar context, as the comparative evidence suggests. In Greek epic the χορός can refer to the place from which the sunlight originates; in the Vedic hymns *hṛ* is used for the action of bringing out the sunlight.

A passage in the *Iliad* may preserve a latent example of χορός used as the home of a Dawn-goddess, in this case specifically Aphrodite. Having rescued Paris from his single combat with Menelaus, Aphrodite takes him to his chamber and goes to fetch Helen. She describes Paris' beauty to Helen, comparing him to a man just going to, or coming from, a χορός:

> κεῖνος ὅ γ' ἐν θαλάμῳ καὶ δινωτοῖσι λέχεσσι,
> κάλλεΐ τε στίλβων καὶ εἵμασιν· οὐδέ κε φαίης
> ἀνδρὶ μαχεσσάμενον τόν γ' ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ χορόνδε
> ἔρχεσθ', ἠὲ χοροῖο νέον λήγοντα καθίζειν.
>
> (Γ 391-394)

Several parallels may be drawn between this passage and others which deal with the Dawn and her lover. Paris is here distinguished by the remarkable beauty which also characterizes Eos' lovers Cleitus (ο 251-252) and Tithonus (*H. Aph.* 200-201, 218-219).

ταὶ Πεληάδες γὰρ ἄμιν
ὀρθρίαι φᾶρος φεροίσαις
νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίαν ἄτε σήριον
ἄστρον αὐηρόμεναι μάχονται.

Aphrodite returns him to his θάλαμος as Eos brings Tithonus to her own θάλαμος (*H. Aph.* 235). She compares him to a man going to a χορός, and Eos' home in the *Odyssey* has χοροί (μ 4). θάλαμος and χορός may be traditional elements preserved from more archaic versions of the story, in which both terms might have referred to the home of the Dawn-goddess, where she keeps her mortal lover. Moreover, Helen's rebuke to Aphrodite a few lines later overtly suggests that the goddess herself is Paris' lover:

ἀλλ' αἰεὶ περὶ κεῖνον ὀΐζυε καί ἑ φύλασσε,
εἰς ὅ κέ σ' ἢ ἄλοχον ποιήσεται, ἢ ὅ γε δούλην.

(Γ 408-409)

All these resemblances indicate that the myth of the Dawn-goddess and her lover may underlie some of the narrative patterns in the Aphrodite-Paris episode.

That the Dawn-goddess was primitively associated with a dancing-place is further suggested by several passages in the *Rig Veda* where Uṣas is called a dancer. In one hymn the successive Dawns are said to dance (*nṛtáu*) as they approach (*RV* 10.29.2). Elsewhere Uṣas is compared to a brightly-clothed dancer (*nṛtús*, RV 1.92.4). Further, in the *Hymn to Apollo*, Aphrodite as a dancer receives the epithet Διὸς θυγάτηρ, which is inherited from the Indo-European Dawn-goddess. So also in a fragment of Alcman's lyric poetry, a Διὸς θυγάτηρ is associated with the χορός:

Μῶσ' ἄγε Καλλιόπα θύγατερ Διὸς
ἄρχ' ἐρατῶν Ϝεπέων, ἐπὶ δ' ἵμερον
ὕμνῳ καὶ χαρίεντα τίθη χορόν.

(Alcman *Frag.* 27 P)

The Indic verb *hṛ* itself is sometimes used in contexts which suggest the movements of a dance. In *RV* 6.47.15b, Indra is said to reverse the positions of first and last as when one moves (*prahárann*) one foot before the other. And the Brahman Asanga, a man whom the gods changed into a woman, is advised to conduct himself more modestly: to look down, not up, to place (*hara*) his feet closer together (*RV* 8.33.19a). It is likely then that in common Indo-European the *gher- root was connected with the concept of dancing as well as with the abode of the Sun and the Dawn.

In sum, Aphrodite's connection with the χορός in epic apparently comes from two types of influence, no longer clearly distinguishable.

First, as a Greek fertility goddess (albeit one of celestial origin) she was naturally associated with the sacred dancing-ground, a type of cult place apparently inherited from the pre-Greek religion. This type of worship was probably extended to Aphrodite from the cults of other goddesses, especially the Cretan Ariadne.

The thematic associations of χορός in Greek epic diction also underlie Aphrodite's connection with the term. χορός is often used in collocation with concepts specifically related to Aphrodite's synchronic function as love goddess in epic (e.g. ἵμερος, θάλος, the rape theme). Moreover, on a more archaic level, the term refers to the 'dancing-grounds' of the Dawn-goddess, a concept reflected in both Greek and Indic poetic diction. Her association with a χορός is therefore another traditional aspect of the Greek Dawn-goddess, which was extended to Aphrodite when she entered Greek epic as a hypostasis, and in some degree a replacement, of Eos.

CHAPTER THREE

APHRODITE AND HER MORTAL LOVER

One of the major narrative themes associated with Aphrodite in epic is her relationship with a mortal lover. She kidnaps Phaethon, the son of Eos, to make him her temple attendant and a δαίμονα δῖον (*Theogony* 986-991), Anchises is mentioned as her lover several times in the *Iliad*, and her relationship with Anchises is the subject of the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite*. The *Hymn* is in fact the longest and most developed story in Greek epic of an affair between a goddess and a mortal, and so it will serve as a basis for this analysis of the dictional and narrative elements connected with such stories in epic.

The myth of a goddess and her consort is of course a major feature of Near Eastern religions,[1] and it has often been suggested that Aphrodite inherited her relationship with mortal consorts from her supposed predecessors of the Ishtar-Astarte type. Although the Near Eastern goddess-consort worship has definite parallels in the Greek cults of Aphrodite and Adonis, it shows only the most tenuous connections with the stories of Aphrodite and her consorts in epic.

Pervasive in the worship of the Eastern Great Goddesses is the myth of their relationship with a young lover who dies, somehow returns, and is mourned annually. The earliest evidence for such a belief is attested in the Old Babylonian *Epic of Gilgamesh*, dating from the first half of the second millennium. Gilgamesh refuses Ishtar's invitation to become her lover, recounting the harm she did to her former consorts:

> Which lover didst thou love forever?
> Which of thy shepherds pleased [thee for all time]?
> Come, and I will *na*[*me* for thee] thy lovers:
> Of . . . [. . .] . . .
> For Tammuz, the lover of thy youth,
> Thou hast ordained wailing year after year.
>
> (Tablet VI. 42-7) [2]

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[1] This myth is the basis of the classic study of Sir James George Frazer, *Adonis Attis Osiris: Studies in the History of Oriental Religion*, part IV of *The Golden Bough*, third edition (New York, Macmillan, 1935). (Abbreviated AAO.)

[2] *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. James B. Pritchard, third edition (Princeton 1969), p. 84. (Abbreviated ANET.)

Another allusion to the myth of Ishtar and Tammuz, and specifically to the apparent resurrection of Tammuz from the underworld, is found in the Akkadian text of the *Descent of Ishtar to the Nether World*. Ereshkigal, the queen of the dead, after holding Ishtar prisoner in her realm, finally allows her to depart. She gives the following instructions to her servant:

> If she does not give thee her ransom price, bring her back.
> As for Tammuz, the lover of her youth,
> Wash him with pure water, anoint him with sweet oil . . .
> (Obverse 46-48) [1]

A sister of Tammuz is startled when she hears him returning from the underworld, and exclaims:

> My only brother, bring no harm to me!
> On the day when Tammuz comes up to me,
> When with him the lapis flute (and) the carnelian ring come up to me,
> When with him the wailing men and the wailing women come up to me,
> May the dead rise and smell the incense.
> (Obverse 55-58) [2]

The function of Tammuz in these myths is clearly connected with the vegetative cycle of death and rebirth. In several Babylonian hymns, he is overtly compared to the plants that quickly die.[3] His death was mourned every year during the barren midsummer period.[4]

The Phrygian counterpart of Tammuz would be Attis, consort of Cybele. His death rites too were annually celebrated, probably just after the spring harvest. The Phrygian ritual, at least as it was carried on in Rome after being imported there in 204 B.C., involved the ritual death and burial of the god, a period of violent mourning, including the self-mutilation of his priests, and a joyous celebration (the *Hilaria*) following the news of Attis' resurrection.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[2] *Idem.*
[3] AAO, pp. 9-10. These laments for Tammuz recall a similar metaphor in the famous Greek practice of planting quick-blooming and short-lived 'gardens of Adonis,' cf. AAO, p. 235.
[4] This summary of Attis and his worship is based on the account in AAO, pp. 263-269.

Another 'dying god,' Adonis, is directly linked with Aphrodite. He was worshipped at temples of Astarte in Byblos, as well as at Paphos.[1] His death was also mourned every year, although the season of his death apparently varied from one locale to another.[2]

In Greek poetry, Adonis is first mentioned in a Sapphic fragment which seems to relate to cult practice. The passage deals with the goddess's mourning for her dead lover:

κατθνᾴσκει, Κυθέρη', ἄβρος Ἄδωνις· τί κε θεῖμεν;
καττύπτεσθε, κόραι, καὶ κατερείκεσθε κίθωνας.
(Sappho 140 LP)

The mythology of Adonis, like his ritual, recalls motifs of the Near Eastern goddess-consort tradition. Apollodorus (*Lib.* 3.14.4) tells how Aphrodite hid the infant Adonis in a chest and entrusted him to Persephone. When Persephone refused to return the beautiful child, Zeus mediated the dispute, deciding that Adonis should spend part of the year with Persephone and part with Aphrodite. This story is reminiscent of the ancient Sumerian myth of Tammuz taken from Erishkigal by Ishtar, and, with the sex roles reversed, it is similar to the famous story of Persephone herself in the house of Hades. These myths clearly relate to the agricultural cycles of death (harvest), burial (of seeds in the field, of grain in underground storage jars, and rebirth (new crops).

Adonis is conspicuously absent from Greek epic. Also absent from epic accounts of Aphrodite's love affairs are references to the vegetation cycle, the consort's yearly death, and the ritual mourning for him. The conflict between traditions of Aphrodite's consort in cult (Adonis) and her mortal lovers in epic (Phaethon, Anchises) can be traced to the different sources of these traditions. The name *Adonis* is transparently Semitic (*adon* = 'lord') in contrast to the Indo-European form 'Αφροδίτη. Adonis, like Astarte, was apparently imported to Cyprus by the Phoenicians. Aphrodite and Astarte were somewhat identified with one another on Cyprus,[3] and this process apparently led to the identification of Astarte's consort Adonis as a lover of Aphrodite.

The theory that Aphrodite originated as a hypostasis of the Dawn-

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 225-226.
[3] Cf. above, pp. 3-6.

goddess Eos can help explain a further confusion of the male consorts of goddesses on Cyprus. In the *Etymologicum Magnum*, Ἄῳος (= Attic Ἕῳος) is glossed as (1) a name of Adonis and (2) the son of Eos and Cephalus who became king of Cyprus. Hesychius (*s.v.* Ἄωοι) also reports that Aoos was the son of Eos and Cephalus.

The attestation of Aoos as a name for Adonis suggests the mixture of Phoenician and Mycenaean religions on the island. It is likely that Aoos was originally a generic name for a son or lover of Eos. As Aphrodite developed from Eos, she too might have become associated with a consort having the same name. In the *Theogony*, Aphrodite kidnaps a son of Eos and Cephalus whose name is Phaethon (*Theogony* 986-991); on Cyprus perhaps the same figure was known as Aoos (who is called the son of Eos and Cephalus by both the *Etymologicum Magnum* and Hesychius).[1]

The Phoenicians in their worship of Astarte, on the other hand, called her consort by his title *Adon* 'Lord.' When Astarte came to be identified with the Greek Aphrodite, Adonis became the lover of Aphrodite, and may in turn have become identified with her lover in the Indo-European tradition, Eos' son Aoos.

This sort of confusion is most graphically illustrated in Apollodorus' genealogy of Adonis (*Lib.* 3.14.3), in which the Semitic Adonis is made a descendant of the Greek Dawn-goddess Eos.

Adonis, then, became associated with Aphrodite as a result of her assimilation to the Great Goddess Astarte on Cyprus. This association, based on Near Eastern models, is not attested in Greek epic. The stories of Aphrodite and her mortal lovers in epic are not of the 'Near Eastern' type; on the contrary, they are apparently based on the ancient epic paradigm of Eos and her consorts.

The tradition of the mortal lover of the Dawn-goddess is an old one; in Greek epic it is surely the most obvious aspect of Eos' mythology. Comparative evidence from the *Rig Veda* indicates that this feature of solar mythology dates back to common Indo-European, although in Greek myth it may have been amplified beyond its original importance.

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[1] The antiquity of the name Ἄωος on Cyprus is indicated by the fact that both the *Etymologicum Magnum* and Hesychius attest the word in its Arcado-Cypriote form, equivalent to the Linear B form of the word used as a man's name at Pylos. Cf. John Chadwick and Lydia Baumbach, 'The Mycenaean Greek Vocabulary,' s.v. Ἄωος.

Uṣas, the Indic Dawn-goddess, also has a mortal lover. When she is questioned about his identity, the diction emphasizes the contrast between mortal and immortal:

kás ta uṣah kadhapriye bhujé *márto amartye*
kám nakṣase vibhāvarí
What *mortal* must please you, *immortal* friend-seeking Uṣas?
To whom do you go, Brilliant One?
(*RV* 1.30.20)

In a relatively late Vedic hymn, the marriages of Sūryā, a figure very similar to Uṣas, are catalogued. Her first three husbands are gods; the last is a mortal (*RV* 10.85.40-41). Sūryā too is a celestial figure, akin to the Dawn-goddess, who is linked with a mortal consort.

It is the major purpose of this chapter to examine the formulaic diction and the mythological themes associated in Greek epic with Aphrodite and her mortal lovers. Comparison with other immortals involved in such a relationship will indicate how Aphrodite fits into the story patterns of goddess-mortal myths in epic, and will suggest sources from which the traditional poets derived the language and narrative patterns associated with her.

Before analyzing the motifs of the goddess-mortal stories, it will be useful to survey the attestations of such episodes in epic. In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* seven goddesses (or nymphs) are mentioned in connection with a mortal lover. Six of these are familiar figures: Aphrodite, Thetis, Demeter, Eos, Circe, Calypso. The seventh, Abarbarea, the wife of the Trojan Bucolion (Z 21-26), is probably a local nymph in the Troad. Her function in epic is limited to producing two sons who were killed in battle.

The catalogue of goddess-mortal pairs at the end of the *Theogony* (963-1020) includes all those mentioned in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* except Abarbarea (another indication of her strictly local importance), and adds four more couples to the list: Aphrodite's daughter Harmonia (wed to Cadmus), Callirrhoe (Chrysaor), the 'daughter of Aeetes,' i.e. Medea (Jason), and Psamathe (Aeacus).

Demeter's union with Iasion stands apart from all the other goddess-mortal stories developed in epic. In the Demeter story alone, sexual relations between the goddess and her lover have a broad effect on the fertility of land and animals. Demeter's lovemaking with Iasion 'in a thrice-plowed field' (ε 127, *Theogony* 971), a motif not found in the other goddess-mortal stories, apparently

reflects the widespread agricultural myth in which the goddess's marriage to her consort renews the fertility of the land. Their son Πλοῦτος moreover is simply a personification of the 'wealth' produced in the soil (and stored in it); he has no existence separate from this concept.

Apart from the Demeter myth, most of the goddess-mortal stories share a number of elements. There is reason to believe that the Eos stories served as a model for these shared motifs. Not only is Eos an ancient character in epic (her place in the tradition is inherited, of course, from her Indo-European predecessor **Ausōs*), she also is traditionally characterized by her relationships with mortal lovers (four of whom are named in Greek epic: Cleitus, Cephalus, Orion, and Tithonus).

Another indication that the Eos myths served as a model for the other goddess-mortal stories in epic is the fact that so many of the goddesses involved in these stories are related either to Helios or Okeanos. Eos herself is the sister of Helios (*Theogony* 371-372). Circe is his daughter (κ 135-139, *Theogony* 1011); Medea is his granddaughter (*Theogony* 992, κ 135-139).

Callirhoe and Calypso are among the daughters of Okeanos (*Theogony* 351, 359), although elsewhere Calypso's father is said to be Atlas (α 52) or Nereus (Apollodorus, *Epitome* 7.24). Eos too has close connections with Okeanos, which may have prompted a transferral or extension of motifs connected with her to other figures associated with Okeanos. Her home is across the river Okeanos (*H. Aph.* 227), and both Eos and Helios rise from and set into the Okeanos (T 1-2, Θ 485).[1]

Aphrodite too has apparently inherited her relationship with a mortal lover from Eos, from whose diction she has inherited so many elements associated with her in epic. In many respects Aphrodite's associations with Phaethon and Anchises are similar to the stories of Eos and her lovers, and to the epic accounts of Circe, Calypso, and Thetis. The following chart indicates some of the narrative themes repeated in the goddess-mortal episodes in the Homeric and Hesiodic poems. As will be seen in the discussion below, the similar themes are often expressed in similar diction as well.

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[1] Connections between solar and oceanic topographies in epic are further discussed by Gregory Nagy, 'Phaethon, Sappho's Phaon, and the White Rock of Leukas,' pp. 150-151.

Narrative Elements in the Goddess/Mortal Lover Episodes

	Aphrodite	Eos	Circe	Calypso	Thetis
Beauty of lover described	Anchises, Phaethon	Tithonus, Cleitus	—	—	—
Dressing scene	before meeting Anchises	(epithet κροκόπεπλος)	before Odysseus leaves	before Odysseus leaves	—
Kidnapping or detaining	kidnaps Phaethon, says Hermes kidnapped her	kidnaps Tithonus, Cleitus	detains Odysseus	detains Odysseus	—
Journey to lover	to Anchises	to/from Tithonus	(Odysseus comes to her island)	(Odysseus comes to her island)	comes to Peleus' house
Fate of lover	Anchises: old age and death; Phaethon: immortality	Tithonus: deathless old age; Orion: killed by Artemis	goes to Tartarus, returns to life	must face dangers, eventually die	old age
Son(s)	Aeneas	Memnon, Phaethon	Agrius, Latinus (*Theogony* 1011-1013)	Nausithous, Nausinous (*Theogony* 1017-1018)	Achilles

An analysis of the goddess-mortal stories in epic can begin logically with the start of the relationship: why is the love affair initiated? In the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, Zeus makes Aphrodite fall in love with Anchises, but after this initial impetus it is she who dominates the course of the relationship. She is attracted by Anchises' godlike appearance: δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ἐοικώς (*H. Aph.* 55), as she says Zeus was attracted by the beauty of Ganymede (ἥρπασε ὃν διὰ κάλλος, *H. Aph.* 203, cf. Y 232-235) and Eos by the divine appearance of still another Trojan, Tithonus (ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισι, *H. Aph.* 219).

Elsewhere the tradition maintains that Eos carried off Cleitus also because of his beauty (κάλλεος εἵνεκα οἷο, ο 251). And apparently Aphrodite was similarly attracted by the godlike Phaethon (θεοῖς ἐπιείκελον ἄνδρα, *Theogony* 987).

The formulas used to describe the godlike appearance of Anchises, Phaethon, and Tithonus form an economical and metrically varied
∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –
system of diction. δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ἐοικώς (of Anchises) and

ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισι (of Tithonus) have the same metrical shape, but one formula begins with a vowel, the other with a consonant. The two phrases are thus a complementary pair of descriptions,
⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑
having the same meaning but different metrical uses. θεοῖς ἐπιείκελον
– ⏑
ἄνδρα (of Phaethon) is similar in meaning, but has a different metrical shape. The appearance of the mortal lover can therefore be described by any one of three formulas, depending on the metrical requirements of the line. Such a system of diction must be a traditional element in the goddess-mortal episodes.

The kidnapping motif also is expressed in similar diction in the various stories. Aphrodite snatches Phaethon (ὦρτ' ἀναρεψαμένη, *Theogony* 990). Eos seizes Cleitus (ἥρπασεν, ο 250) and Tithonus (ἥρπασε, *H. Aph.* 218), as Zeus does Ganymede (ἥρπασε, *H. Aph.* 203).

In the story of Aphrodite and Anchises the same motif is present but the roles are shifted: Aphrodite tells her lover that she is a Phrygian princess whom Hermes kidnapped (ἥρπαξε, *H. Aph.* 121) and brought to Mount Ida. This theme of 'snatching away' is related to another function of Aphrodite in Greek epic. In her aspect as Διὸς θυγάτηρ, she sometimes seizes (ἐξήρπαξ', Γ 380, of Paris) or hides away (ἐκάλυψε, Γ 381, of Paris; ἐκάλυψεν, Ε 315, of Aeneas) the heroes whom she protects from death.[1]

In another variant of the kidnapping motif in the mortal-immortal love stories, Odysseus is detained by the nymphs Calypso and Circe. Although he arrives on their islands without being 'snatched' by them, it is by their will that he remains. On Calypso's island especially, Odysseus is virtually a prisoner, detained there by the nymph and longing for his return home:

> ἀλλ' ἦ τοι νύκτας μὲν ἰαύεσκεν καὶ ἀνάγκῃ
> ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι παρ' οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐθελούσῃ.
>
> (ε 154-155)

The goddesses' appearance, especially their shining clothing and ornaments, is another common feature of the goddess-mortal stories in epic. When Aphrodite reveals herself to Anchises her immortal beauty shines (ἀπέλαμπεν) from her cheeks (*H. Aph.* 174-175). Her

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[1] Aphrodite's role as rescuer of Trojan heroes is discussed above pp. 40-42.

garments are variously described as beautiful (καλά, *H. Aph.* 65) immortal (ἄμβροτα, *Hymn* 6.6), and gleaming (σιγαλόεντα, *H. Aph.* 85). As she prepares for her meeting with Anchises she dresses and adorns herself with gold in her shrine at Paphos (*H. Aph.* 64-65). When she arrives on Mt. Ida her raiment is more fully described; the diction emphasizes her gleaming appearance:

Ἀγχίσης δ' ὁρόων ἐφράζετο θαύμαινέν τε
εἶδός τε μέγεθός τε καὶ εἵματα σιγαλόεντα.
πέπλον μὲν γὰρ ἕεστο φαεινότερον πυρὸς αὐγῆς,
εἶχε δ' ἐπιγναμπτὰς ἕλικας κάλυκάς τε φαεινάς,
ὅρμοι δ' ἀμφ' ἁπαλῇ δειρῇ περικαλλέες ἦσαν
καλοὶ χρύσειοι παμποίκιλοι· ὡς δὲ σελήνη
στήθεσιν ἀμφ' ἁπαλοῖσιν ἐλάμπετο, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι.
(*H. Aph.* 84-90) [1]

A similar 'dressing scene' in an erotic context is attested in the *Iliad*, when Hera decides to distract Zeus so that Poseidon can aid the Achaeans unthwarted. She carefully prepares herself for the seduction of her husband who, like Aphrodite's Anchises, is on Mount Ida, unaware of her plans. In the description of Hera's toilette (Ξ 161-186) are many of the elements found in the *Hymn to Aphrodite* 58-67: both goddesses bathe, anoint themselves with oil, put on bright clothing and ornaments, then go to meet their lovers.

Two identical passages in the *Odyssey* preserve another 'dressing scene.' Circe and Calypso put on their bright garments on the morning that Odysseus is preparing to leave their islands:

αὐτὴ δ' ἀργύφεον φᾶρος μέγα ἕννυτο νύμφη,
λεπτὸν καὶ χαρίεν, περὶ δὲ ζώνην βάλετ' ἰξυῖ
καλὴν χρυσείην, κεφαλῇ δ' ἐπέθηκε καλύπτρην.
(ε 230-232 = κ 543-545)

The descriptions of Circe and Calypso, which occur at very similar points in the *Odyssey* narrative, apparently derive from the poetic tradition of the Dawn-goddess, for which there is comparative evidence in the *Rig Veda*. The image of the Dawn clothed in brilliant garments is an Indo-European concept, and one which may well serve as the archetype of the epic descriptions of a goddess brilliantly clothed.

[1] Cf. *Hymn* 6.5-13 for a similar description of Aphrodite's clothing and ornaments in a non-erotic context.

In both of these scenes the dressing of Circe or Calypso is closely associated with the arrival of the dawn (ε 228, κ 541). The bright φᾶρος, worn by each goddess is a special kind of garment (with uses more strictly limited than its synonym εἵματα [1]). At least once elsewhere in archaic Greek poetry the word is used in a solar context. Alcman describes the choral dance at Sparta in which one of the maidens' choruses apparently brings out a robe at dawn (reading φᾶρος rather than φάρος 'plough'):

ταὶ Πεληάδες γὰρ ἇμιν
ὀρθρίαι φᾶρος φεροίσαις
νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίαν ἅτε σήριον
ἄστρον αὐηρόμεναι μάχονται.

(Alcman 1.60-63 P)

It appears that the choral ritual at Sparta may have involved showing a special robe in conjunction with the sunrise. There is a trace of the same idea in the *Odyssey*, when the φᾶρος woven by Penelope is compared to the sun or the moon, and is shown just at the time when a god leads Odysseus home (i.e. at dawn, cf. ν 93-95):

εὖθ' ἡ φᾶρος ἔδειξεν, ὑφήνασα μέγαν ἱστόν,
πλύνασ', ἠελίῳ ἐναλίγκιον ἠὲ σελήνῃ,
καὶ τότε δή ῥ' Ὀδυσῆα κακός ποθεν ἤγαγε δαίμων
ἀγροῦ ἐπ' ἐσχατιήν, ὅθι δώματα ναῖε συβώτης.

(ω 147-150)

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[1] In Homeric epic the φᾶρος as a garment is worn only by Agamemnon (Β 43, Θ 221), Telemachus (ο 61), and Odysseus (ζ 214 etc.) among men; otherwise it is worn by an immortal (Apollo in *H. Ap.* 121, Dionysus in *Hymn* 7.5) as by Circe and Calypso in the passages discussed in the text. φάρεα are woven by nymphs in their cave on Ithaca (ν 108) and are presented to Odysseus by Calypso to use for his sail (ε 258, cf. ε 61-62, where Calypso is weaving in her cave). A φᾶρος worn by Telemachus or Odysseus sometimes contributes to his divine appearance (γ 467 = ψ 155, π 173). The word is often used to mean a shroud (β 97, etc.), a guest-gift (ν 67, etc.) or part of a ransom (Ω 231, etc.). Generally then a φᾶρος is reserved for the gods, men of special importance, or for special hieratic and social functions. All these functions reflect the Mycenaean origins of the word (Chadwick-Baumback, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* φᾶρος) and suggest that in Homeric diction its use was restricted to certain contexts considered appropriate because of their associations with divinity or royalty. εἵματα, on the other hand, may be considered the 'unmarked' word for 'clothing,' i.e. one not restricted to special contexts. Immortals wear εἵματα (e.g., *H. Aph.* 64), and εἵματα may be the gift of a god to a mortal (e.g., ε 167). The word, however, also is used to mean 'clothing' in general without regard to the status of the wearer, as in the Odyssean formula χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε εἵματα (ξ 341, etc.).

The comparison of Penelope's φᾶρος to a celestial body recalls the veil of Hera, 'bright as the sun' (Ξ 185) and Aphrodite adorned 'like Selene' (*H. Aph.* 89). It is interesting that nowhere else in epic is a character compared to the Moon goddess, the sister of Helios and Eos (*Theogony* 371-374). Selene herself is said to wear bright clothing:

εἵματα ἑσσαμένη τηλαυγέα δῖα Σελήνη

(*Hymn* 32.8)

There are no similar descriptions of Eos' clothing. Possibly by the Homeric period the traditional descriptions of Eos' garments were transferred to her minor successors in epic narratives (e.g. Circe and Calypso) as well as to her more important hypostasis, Aphrodite. Still, the formula κροκόπεπλος 'Ηώς reflects the concept of the Dawn's bright clothing.

The association between bright garments and the light of the sun or the dawn is found in early Indic religious poetry as well as in Greek epic and lyric. In a Vedic hymn Sūrya (cognate with Helios) is said to bring out his 'web' (*tántum*) and cause the darkness to sink in the water (*RV* 4.13.4). Uṣas herself is often described as wearing shining garments; once she is specifically said to be 'clothed in light' (*jyótir vásānā, RV* 1.124.3a). Elsewhere she is compared to a beautifully adorned bride, or to a young woman dressing or undressing for her lover (*RV* 1.123.10-11, 124.7, 113.7; 7.77.2, 78.1, etc.). Thus an erotic motif is collocated with 'dressing scenes' in Indic as well as Greek diction.

The motif of a journey through the air is another theme associated with goddess-mortal love affairs in epic. For example, after Aphrodite has adorned herself she travels from Paphos to the Troad to meet her lover:

σεύατ' ἐπὶ Τροίης προλιποῦσ' εὐώδεα Κύπρον
ὕψι μετὰ νέφεσιν ῥίμφα πρήσσουσα κέλευθον.

(*H. Aph.* 66-67)

This motif too apparently owes much to the functions of the Dawn goddess in Indo-European poetic diction.[1]

The Dawn naturally was thought to travel across the sky. Uṣas rides in a brilliant chariot (*RV* 7.78.1, 1.23.7, etc.) drawn by horses

[1] The phrase μετὰ νέφεσιν here may reflect Aphrodite's origin as the 'bright cloud' variant of the Dawn-goddess, cf. above, pp. 10-13.

(7.75.6 etc.) or cows (1.92.2 etc.). Eos is not overtly said to travel in a chariot, but that she did so is indicated by a passage in the *Odyssey* which preserves the names of her horses:

Λάμπον καὶ Φαέθονθ', οἵ τ' Ἠῶ πῶλοι ἄγουσι.
(ψ 246)

Besides being a traveller herself, the Dawn in Indo-European mythology apparently had control over roads generally, as a consequence of her major function of providing light. Uṣas is said to open the paths for the Sun (RV 1.113.16) and for other solar figures (the Angirases, *RV* 7.75.1). For men as well she opens roads (7.79.1, 5.80.2, 6.64.1, etc.) and beholds their paths (7.75.4).[1]

Eos too has control over the paths of men. The *Works and Days* includes a description of the role of the Dawn as awakener and activator; the passage recalls similar Vedic descriptions of Uṣas' role (cf. RV 4.51.5 etc.). There is particular emphasis on Eos' control over roads:

ἠὼς γὰρ ἔργοιο τρίτην ἀπομείρεται αἶσαν,
ἠώς τοι προφέρει μὲν ὁδοῦ, προφέρει δὲ καὶ ἔργου,
ἠώς, ἥτε φανεῖσα πολέας ἐπέβησε κελεύθου
ἀνθρώπους πολλοῖσι τ' ἐπὶ ζυγὰ βουσὶ τίθησιν.
(*Works and Days* 578-581)

Eos also functions as a patroness of journeys in the *Odyssey*, where important journeys are frequently begun or ended at dawn. To begin a journey at dawn is easily interpreted as mere common sense, and need not indicate a mythological relationship between the Dawn-goddess and roads. More significant, however, are the journeys which end at dawn. When Telemachus arrives at Pylos to begin his quest for news of his father, the time of his arrival there is forcibly emphasized:

παννυχίη μέν ῥ' ἥ γε καὶ ἠῶ πεῖρε κέλευθον.
Ἠέλιος δ' ἀνόρουσε, λιπὼν περικαλλέα λίμνην,
οὐρανὸν ἐς πολύχαλκον, ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι φαείνοι
καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν·
οἱ δὲ Πύλον, Νηλῆος ἐυκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,
ἷξον . . .
(β 434-γ 5)

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[1] A. A. MacDonnell, *The Vedic Mythology*, p. 47, gives these and other references to Uṣas' connections with roads.

Eos herself figures in the description of Telemachus' return to Ithaca:

αἶψα γὰρ 'Ηὼς ἦλθεν ἐύθρονος. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ χέρσου
Τηλεμάχου ἕταροι λύον ἱστία, κὰδ δ' ἕλον ἱστὸν . . .

(ο 495-496) [1]

Odysseus himself finally arrives in Ithaca at dawn, or just before:

εὖτ' ἀστὴρ ὑπερέσχε φαάντατος, ὅς τε μάλιστα
ἔρχεται ἀγγέλλων φάος 'Ηοῦς ἠριγενείης,
τῆμος δὴ νήσῳ προσεπίλνατο ποντοπόρος νηῦς.

(ν 93-95)

The Dawn goddess or her substitute does not only preside over the homecomings of others.[2] She herself travels each day to and

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[1] Another Eos passage in Telemachus' homecoming occurs when Antinous complains that the youth slipped through the suitors' ambush under a god's protection at dawn. I suspect that originally the god in this context may have been Eos herself:

ἤματα μὲν σκοποὶ ἵζον ἐπ' ἄκριας ἠνεμοέσσας
αἰὲν ἐπασσύτεροι· ἅμα δ' ἠελίῳ καταδύντι
οὔ ποτ' ἐπ' ἠπείρου νύκτ' ἄσαμεν, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ
νηὶ θοῇ πλείοντες ἐμίμνομεν 'Ηῶ δῖαν,
Τηλέμαχον λοχόωντες, ἵνα φθίσωμεν ἑλόντες
αὐτόν· τὸν δ' ἄρα τῆος ἀπήγαγεν οἴκαδε δαίμων.

(π 365-370)

[2] This traditional aspect of the Dawn-goddess may also underlie the functions of Circe and Calypso, who may be Eos' replacements in the *Odyssey*'s development of a traditional return story. Calypso, for example, after detaining Odysseus on her island, finally helps him prepare for the next stage of his journey: she tells him how to build a raft, then provides him with food, wine, and a gentle wind (ε 160-170, 233-268). Circe (the daughter of Helios) sends Odysseus to the place of the dead (κ 490-495) and receives him back again (μ 16-24). She then promises to help him on the next part of his journey; like Eos-Uṣas herself, Circe will show him the road:

. . . ἅμα δ' ἠοῖ φαινομένηφι
πλεύσεσθ'· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ δείξω ὁδὸν ἠδὲ ἕκαστα
σημανέω, ἵνα μή τι κακορραφίῃ ἀλεγεινῇ
ἢ ἁλὸς ἢ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλγήσετε πῆμα παθόντες.

(μ 24-27)

In these passages as elsewhere Circe and Calypso derive their roles from Eos; like her they are the guides on a journey home. In Homeric epic Eos' active role as mistress of roads has faded to a mere collocation of dawn (as a time of day) with the end of a significant journey. It is Eos' successors in epic who figure prominently in the narrative as the activators of the journey home.

from her home at the edge of the world (*H. Aph.* 227) where she keeps her lover:

Ἠὼς δ' ἐκ λεχέων παρ' ἀγαυοῦ Τιθωνοῖο
ὤρνυθ', ἵνα ἀθανάτοισι φόως φέροι ἠδὲ βροτοῖσιν·
(ε 1-2, cf. Λ 1-2)

Uṣas too apparently visits her mortal lover (*RV* 1.30.20b) at the edge of the world (*RV* 7.76.2).

In view of her association with a daily trip across the sky, the Dawn-goddess may be quite naturally considered to journey through the air to visit her lover. The same motif was apparently extended to other goddesses who are not overtly celestial figures in Greek epic. Not only Aphrodite (*H. Aph.* 66-67) but Hera too travels through the sky to visit a lover.

Ἥρη δ' ἀΐξασα λίπεν ῥίον οὐλύμποιο,
Πιερίην δ' ἐπιβᾶσα καὶ Ἠμαθίην ἐρατεινὴν
σεύατ' ἐφ' ἱπποπόλων Θρῃκῶν ὄρεα νιφόεντα,
ἀκροτάτας κορυφάς· οὐδὲ χθόνα μάρπτε ποδοῖιν·
(Ξ 225-228, cf. also 280-285 and 292-293)

Other elements connected with the erotic journeys of Aphrodite and Hera relate to the mythology of Eos, and to diction originally formulated for the Indo-European Dawn-goddess. Both Aphrodite and Hera depart after an elaborate preparation behind 'shining doors,' expressed in the formula θυρὰς ἐπέθηκε φαεινάς (*H. Aph.* 60, Ξ 169). The same formula is applied to Eos (*H. Aph.* 235), when she shuts Tithonus behind the 'shining doors' of her home 'beyond the streams of Okeanos at the ends of the earth' (*H. Aph.* 227). The original significance of the phrase, which parallels a formula applied to Uṣas in the *Rig Veda*,[1] is the shining doors on the house of Dawn. When the phrase is transferred to the doors of Hera, however, its original significance, as preserved in the Eos-Tithonus story, is transformed. Still connected with an erotic motif, the 'shining doors' now refer to the starting-point of the goddess's journey to her lover, rather than the terminal point of the Dawn's journey, her home where her lover is kept.

On the synchronic level of the poems in which they are attested,

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[1] In RV 1.48.15, Uṣas opens the two doors of the sky (*dvārau* . . . *divá(s)*) with light (*bhānúnā*). Note that *dvār-* and *bhān-* derive from the same roots as θυρ- and φαειν- in the Greek formula.

the erotic journeys of Hera and Aphrodite have been transferred from a mythological solar place, such as the 'ends of the earth by the streams of Okeanos' where Eos keeps Tithonus (*H. Aph.* 227), to a more 'realistic' setting, Mount Ida in the Troad. The origin of such erotic journeys in the mythology and diction of the Dawn-goddess, however, may be reflected in the *pretended* goal of Hera's journey, which she declares to both Aphrodite and Zeus to be the reason for her trip across the sky:

εἶμι γὰρ ὀψομένη πολυφόρβου πείρατα γαίης,
Ὠκεανόν τε, θεῶν γένεσιν, καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν
(Ξ 200-201, cf. 301-302)

Another issue traditionally included in the goddess-mortal stories in epic is the fate of the mortal lover. Sometimes he dies (e.g. Orion, ε 121-124), as indeed does the consort of the Great Goddess in the Near Eastern tradition. But in Greek epic there is no resurrection for the consort, nor is there ritual mourning for him.[1] The myth of Aphrodite and Anchises has been considered to be 'a story of the Great Goddess and her paramour,'[2] on the grounds that (in *H. Aph.* 181-190) Anchises is afraid of suffering a fate like the castration traditionally ascribed to Cybele's consort Attis. In fact, however, it can be shown that even in this *Hymn*, the fate of the lover follows the structure of similar stories in Greek epic diction.

There is some variation in the fates of the mortal lovers of immortals in the Homeric and Hesiodic traditions, unlike the more predictable pattern of violent death, ritual mourning, and rebirth for the consorts of the Near Eastern goddesses. In some cases their fate is a happy one: they become immortal and unaging, and go to live with the gods. This is what Zeus granted to his lovers Ganymede (Y 232-235, *H. Aph.* 202-214) and Semele (apparently: *Theogony* 940-942). Zeus also made Ariadne, the consort of Dionysus, ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀγήρω (*Theogony* 947-949). Herakles, the consort of Hebe, is also awarded a deathless and unaging existence among the gods (*Theogony* 950-955), but his apotheosis results more from his accomplishments (μέγα ἔργον . . . ἀνύσσας, *Theogony* 954) than from his liaison with a goddess. (According to the Homeric tradition Herakles suffers death rather than immortality, Σ 117-119.)

There are traces of this pattern in an episode in the *Odyssey* as

[1] Cf. above, pp. 64-66.
[2] H. J. Rose, 'Anchises and Aphrodite,' *CQ* 18 (1924) 11-16, p. 11.

well. Proteus tells Menelaus that his fate is not to die in Argos, but that the gods will send him to the Elysian field at the ends of the earth, because he is the son-in-law of Zeus (δ 561-569). Now in the *Odyssey* Helen is no longer a goddess but a mortal; still the importance of her relationship to Zeus guarantees her husband a kind of immortality.

A final example of the immortalization of a god's mortal lover is suggested by the story of Phaethon in *Theogony* 986-991. Aphrodite kidnaps him and makes him a δαίμονα δῖον, a title which implies his immortality (δαίμονα) and perhaps his celestial status (δῖον).[1] Phaethon does not dwell with the gods, however, but like the lovers of Eos he lives apart in the house of his goddess.

Generally speaking, the lovers of goddesses in epic do not enjoy unaging life, as Phaethon apparently does. Demeter's consort Iasion is killed by Zeus' thunderbolt (ε 125-128), and Eos' lover Orion is shot by Artemis' 'gentle arrows' (ε 121-124).

In the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, Anchises is overtly afraid to make love with a goddess (*H. Aph.* 187-190). His fear is not of being killed, however, but of 'living strengthless:'

μή με ζῶντ' ἀμενηνὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐάσῃς
ναίειν, ἀλλ' ἐλέαιρ' . . .

(*H. Aph.* 188-189)

As noted above, it has been suggested that Anchises is here afraid of suffering castration, or at least maining, as did Attis, another mortal consort of a goddess in Anatolia.[2] If so, this is the only suggestion of such a fate for a mortal lover in Greek epic. A passage from the same *Hymn*, however, includes an epic description of a goddess's consort who 'lives strengthless.' Eos' lover Tithonus is granted immortality by Zeus at her request, but he perpetually ages and wastes away, unable to move his limbs but only to babble continually (*H. Aph.* 233-238).[3] According to Aphrodite, when Eos

[1] For the celestial significance of δῖος, δῖα cf. above, pp. 28-29.

[2] Rose, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

[3] According to the Scholiast on *Iliad* 11.1, Tithonus himself asked Eos to make him immortal, but forgot to ask for freedom from old age. When he grew old and helpless, Eos turned him into a kind of grasshopper, the musical τέττιξ, so she could always enjoy at least his voice.

In his commentary on Apollodorus *Lib.* 3.12.5 (London, Heinemann, 1921), Frazer refers to the scholium on Lycophron 18, in which Tzetzes mentions that these grasshoppers shed their γῆρας when they are old. Like Latin *senecta/senectus*, the word γῆρας can mean the sloughed skin of an animal

requested the gift of immortality for her lover, she forgot to ask Zeus to make him eternally young as well (*H. Aph.* 223-224).

The role of Zeus in this version of the story may be a secondary one, added at a time when Zeus' supremacy among the gods would demand that the gift of immortality be given by him, rather than by a fairly insignificant goddess like Eos. In the *Hymn*, Aphrodite, like Eos, is apparently unable to offer a deathless existence to her lover of her own accord. That ability rests with Zeus.

The story of Calypso and Odysseus, however, may preserve the original role of the goddess in such a story, for Calypso herself offers Odysseus the gift of unaging life (ε 135-136). Odysseus is well aware of the choice he must make, and he decides to return to Penelope and Ithaca instead of remaining on Ogygia as Calypso's deathless, unaging consort.

The contrast between the ever-youthful goddess and her fading, ever-aging lover is not limited to Eos and Tithonus in Greek epic. Thetis too complains of her husband's advanced age:

> . . . ὁ μὲν δὴ γήραϊ λυγρῷ
> κεῖται ἐνὶ μεγάροις ἀρημένος . . .
>
> (Σ 434-435)

The problem of the aging lover then is associated with Eos and with several other goddesses whose love affairs with mortals follow many of the same patterns as hers. Tithonus is probably the prototype of the aging lover of a goddess in Greek epic, because a contrast between the unaging Eos and her decrepit mate is based on archaic concepts of the Dawn-goddess and her relationship with mortals. The mythical story, with its emphasis on aging, has apparently developed out of one of the functions of the Dawn-goddess in Indo-

as well as 'old age'. By shedding its skin, the animal was thought to rejuvenate itself (Frazer, *idem.*); the repetition of this process might therefore provide eternal youth. So by transforming him into a τέττιξ, Eos guarantees a kind of youthful immortality for Tithonus.

In addition to the Tithonus—τέττιξ transformation, other beliefs about the grasshopper connected it with the Dawn as well. The τέττιξ was believed to feed on the honey-dew which drops from the sky before dawn (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 11.30, cf. *Sh. Her.* 395). In ancient times this dew was apparently thought to be produced by the Dawn goddess. Uṣas, who is generally an important source of nurture in the Vedic poetry, is said to 'drop moisture like milk' (*RV* 7.41.7, 7.80.3) and to 'bring sweet things' (like honey-dew?) (*RV* 3.61.5).

Finally, in the Shield of Herakles, the τέττιξ is connected with the dawn through the adjective ἠώιος (*Sh. Her.* 393-396).

European religious poetry, as the comparative evidence from the Vedas and Greek epic would suggest.

Both Uṣas and Eos were considered to cause time to pass, therefore to cause people to age. Uṣas is said to diminish the lifetimes of men (*RV* 1.124.2a); conversely, she is asked to prolong the life of her worshippers (*RV* 7.77.5). There may be an echo of this function with regard to Eos in a Hesiodic passage where she is said to take away a portion of the work time:

> Ἠὼς γὰρ ἔργοιο τρίτην ἀπομείρεται αἶσαν
>
> (*Works and Days* 578)

Eos' active control over the passage of time is further indicated in the Homeric phrase ἦμαρ ἐυπλόκαμος τέλεσ' Ἠώς (ε 390); the traditional diction preserves the idea that Eos produces (gives birth to?) the day.

The Indo-European Dawn-goddess then is partly responsible for the aging process, as a consequence of her more general control over time. She is herself however a youthful goddess, ever-reviving: Uṣas is ancient but ever young, reborn out of the darkness every day (*RV* 1.48.14, 92.10, 123.2b, 123.9, etc.). The same concept is preserved in Eos' epithet ἠριγένεια: she is born early each day.[1]

The Dawn-goddess then ages men, but is herself young. Traditionally she is connected with a mortal lover (attested for both Eos and Uṣas). In Greek epic these two aspects of the Dawn combine to form a story-type in which her lover grows old and weak in contrast to her own youth and vitality.

Anchises' fear of becoming οὐ βιοθάλμιος as a result of consorting with a goddess (*H. Aph.* 189) reflects an awareness of this typical fate, and need not be referred to the Near Eastern myths in which the consort suffers castration. Aphrodite, who cites the Eos-Tithonus story as a prototype of her relationship with Anchises, overtly says that she would not have him suffer the fate of Tithonus (*H. Aph.* 239-240).

In this version of the Dawn-mortal myth, a new solution is found to avert in some way the traditional fate of the mortal consort: Anchises is promised a noble son and survival forever through his posterity:

[1] The compound epithet ἠρι-γένεια preserves the locative adverb ἦρι 'early.' Cf. Nagy, 'Phaethon,' p. 161, for this analysis.

σοὶ δ' ἔσται υἱός, ὃς ἐν Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει
καὶ παῖδες παίδεσσι διαμπερὲς ἐκγεγάοντες·
(*H. Aph.* 196-197)

The kind of survival promised by Aphrodite is different from the secluded immortality granted to Eos' consort Tithonus, and is in keeping with Aphrodite's synchronic function in epic as goddess of sexual love and fertility.

The son promised by Aphrodite to Anchises is another traditional element in the goddess-mortal stories in Greek epic. In the Eos stories, the emphasis is on the relationship between the goddess and the son she bears, rather than on the motif of her lover's survival through posterity. In this respect again the patterns in Greek epic differ significantly from the Near Eastern traditions, in which the Great Goddess and her young consort are the only focal points in the myth and cult.[1] In the *Hymn to Aphrodite* and *Iliad's* references to Aphrodite and Aeneas, Aphrodite's role in regard to her son is parallel to that of other goddess-mothers and their sons, notably Eos and Memnon.

Aphrodite, unable to endure Anchises' aging and death, and hoping to extricate herself from the shame of loving a mortal, will not stay with her lover on Mount Ida. She does, however, make provisions for the rearing of their son, by arranging for the mountain nymphs to take care of him (*H. Aph.* 255-258, 273-277). These are long-lived creatures who, like θεοείκελος Aeneas himself (*H. Aph.* 279), are much like the gods (*H. Aph.* 256-261).

Achilles too was traditionally said to be reared in the mountains by a semi-divine creature, Cheiron the Centaur (Λ 830-832, cf. Apollodorus *Lib.* 3.13.6). Thetis, like Aphrodite, left her consort after the birth of their son; she returned to the house of her father Nereus in the sea (A 357-358 etc.; cf. Apollodorus *Lib.* 3.13.6).

Eos too has a famous son, Memnon, but extant epic does not say how he was reared. Eos has other sons as well (Emathion, Memnon's brother, by Tithonus; Phaethon by Cephalus, *Theogony* 985-991), but Memnon is the one most fully treated in the traditional poetry, being the subject of the cyclic epic *Aethiopis*. Memnon has an apparent function in solar mythology: he is king of the Ethiopians, who according to the Homeric tradition live at either edge of the world, where the sun rises and where it sets (α 23-24).

[1] The offspring, if any, of the Great Goddess and her consort are not important, unless, like Cinyras and Adonis, the consort is replaced by his son.

Eos' Vedic counterpart Uṣas was also thought of as being a mother, or as one whom men would like to have as their mother (*RV* 7.81.4). It seems then that in Indo-European religion the Dawn goddess had a general maternal function; in the Greek tradition this function is related to a myth in which she is the mother of a particular son. (In Vedic poetry Uṣas is called the mother of the gods [*RV* 1.113.19] and the mother of the god Agni [6.15.5 etc.], but this role is a very vague and generalized one, as Bergaigne points out,[1] unlike Eos' specific relationship with an individualized son.)

The Italic worship of *Mater Matuta* provides much more evidence for the maternal role of the Dawn-goddess. Camillus, the special protégé of *Mater Matuta,* is a replacement for her overt son. Roman cult too preserves the function of the Dawn-goddess as a mother, or an adoptive mother. This evidence is developed more fully in Dumezil's recent study of the Indic and Italic Dawn-goddesses.[2]

In the *Aethiopis,* Eos persuades Zeus to make Memnon immortal after he is killed by Achilles. Other versions of his story, however, speak of his death and burial places, and so contradict the tradition that he was immortal.[3] There is a similar disparity in the tradition of Achilles' mortality. According to the Homeric version, of course, he is destined to die, and realizes that even his divine mother cannot save him from that fate (Φ 110-113). In the Cyclic *Aethiopis,* however, Thetis removes Achilles to the Bright Island after his death,[4] implying if not immortality at least a happier kind of afterlife than that granted to him in the Homeric tradition (cf. λ 489-491).

Basic to the stories of both Achilles and Memnon is the concern of their goddess-mothers with their vulnerability to death. When Aphrodite saves Aeneas from Diomedes, she is manifesting the same concern, protecting her son from his own mortality (E 311-317, 376-378).

The goddesses' protectiveness toward their sons is also indicated in the tradition that Achilles, Aeneas, and Memnon all wore special

[1] Abel Bergaigne, *La religion védique,* vol. I (Paris, Vieweg, 1883), p. 247.

[2] Georges Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée, vol. III: Histoires romaines* (Paris, Gallimard, 1973), Appendix I: '*Mater Matuta,*' pp. 306-328 with notes.

[3] E.g. Ovid, *Met.* 13.576-622.

[4] The motif of removing the hero's body is a popular one in vasepainting, especially in connection with Eos and Memnon. Cf. Roscher, *Lexikon,* vol. II, second edition, col. 2672, *s.v. Memnon.*

armor made for them by Hephaestus (Vulcan). In *Iliad* 18 and *Aeneid* 8, there are elaborate descriptions of the armor made for Achilles and Aeneas at the request of their goddess-mothers. The pattern in these traditions suggests that in the *Aethiopis* it was Eos who asked Hephaestus to provide her son with special armor (although Proclus' epitome does not mention such an episode). While it is likely that the famous Homeric description of Achilles' shield served as the *artistic* model for the later account of Aeneas' divine armor, the *Iliad* passage is not necessarily the most *archaic* context of the myth. Possibly the theme of providing armor for her son is another element originally associated with Eos, from whom both Aphrodite and Thetis have inherited features of their maternal roles in epic.

In Greek epic the prototype of a goddess intimately connected with the lifespan of mortals is Eos. Having a mortal spouse and mortal son, she suffers the consequences of their contrast with her own everlasting youthful life. It is from Eos that Aphrodite has inherited her traditional relationship with a mortal lover, and her concern with preserving the life of her mortal son. But Aphrodite's synchronic role in Greek epic as goddess of sexual love provides her with a partial solution to the problem of mortality: Anchises will die, but his race will live on. Because she governs the creative instincts in men as in gods and beasts (*H. Aph.* 1-5), Aphrodite can promise her lover

παῖδες παίδεσσι διαμπερὲς ἐκγεγάοντες.

APPENDIX

ΧΩΡΟΣ AND ΧΟΡΟΣ

In Sappho 2 LP Aphrodite is summoned to a holy place which the poet calls a χῶρος. The description of this place includes many elements associated with a dancing ground, χορός, described elsewhere in Greek lyric poetry. Three similar lyric passages are given here, with their common elements spaced or bold face.

δεῦρύ μ' ἐκ Κρήτας ἐπὶ τόνδε ναῦον
ἄγνον, ὄππᾳ δὴ χάριεν μὲν ἄλσος
μαλίαν, βῶμοι δὲ τεθυμιάμε-
νοι λιβανώτῳ·

ἐν δ' ὔδωρ ψῦχρον κελάδει δι' ὔσδων
μαλίνων, βρόδοισι δὲ παῖς ὁ **χῶρος**
ἐσκίαστ', αἰθυσσομένων δὲ φύλλων
κῶμα † καταγριον·

ἐν δὲ λείμων ἰππόβοτος τέθαλε
† τῳτ . . . . . ῃρινινοις † ἄνθεσιν, αἰ δ' ἄηται
μέλλιχα πνέοισιν [
[ ]

(Sappho 2.1-12 LP)

ἔνθα δὴ ποικίλων ἀνθέων ἄμβροτοι λείμακες
βαθύσκιον παρ' ἄλσος ἀβροπαρθένους
εὐιώτας **χοροὺς** ἀγκάλαις δέχονται.

(*Adespota* 926(a) P)

Κρῆσσαί νύ ποτ' ὦδ' ἐμμελέως πόδεσσιν
ὤρχηντ' ἀπάλοισ' ἀμφ' ἐρόεντα βῶμον
πόας τέρεν ἄνθος μάλακον μάτεισαι . . .

(*Inc. Auct.* 16 LP)

With its fertile meadow, shaded grove, and altar, the χῶρος of the Sappho poem sounds like a sacred dancing ground. Carrying the analogies between these passages a step further, I propose that χῶρος is etymologically related to χορός. Pierre Chantraine suggests

a common etymology for χῶρος and χορός from the root **gher-*.[1] A parallel to this development of words with normal and full *o*-grade in their stems is the pair μῶλος/μόλις.[2]

It is impossible to prove a close semantic relationship between χῶρος and χορός in Aeolic because of the paucity of examples. χῶρος is attested only one other time in Lesbian poetry, in a fragment (Alcaeus 299.6) which includes only the first few letters per line. χορός is attested once in Alcaeus (249.2) and once in Sappho (70.10), both times in very fragmentary passages. The context of the Alcaeus passage has no suggestion of dancing, while that of the Sappho passage does (cf.]αρμονίας δ̣[in line 9, λίγηα.[in line 11), but this is all we can tell about the use of the words.

Fortunately it is not necessary to show that χῶρος and χορός are synchronically equivalent in Aeolic. A semantic split between the words before Sappho's time is likely; e.g. χορός may = 'group of dancers' and χῶρος = '(sacred) place.' What is significant, however, is Sappho's use of χῶρος for a special place with a remarkable divine quality, a place of contact between mortal and god. In epic and lyric poetry the χορός too is such a place. As demonstrated in Chapter 2,[3] the original meaning of χορός is 'dancing ground' (rather than 'circle dance' or 'group of dancers'), a special place with sacral connotations. In epic diction and in religious belief the χορός serves as a meeting ground for human and divine figures (e.g. the Minoan goddess appears to her dancing votaries, according to a common interpretation of the Isopata ring;[4] Hermes sees Polymele in the χορός, Π 181-183). Thus there is a thematic similarity between the Homeric χορός and Sappho's sacred χῶρος, where Aphrodite is expected to appear.

If we are to accept a common etymology for χῶρος and χορός we must assume a primitive common meaning for the **gher*-stem in Greek before the presumed semantic split occurred. Probably the original meaning is simply a distinct place (not empty 'space'), especially a place to which something/someone goes or is taken (cf. the frequent use of χορός as the object of ἔρχομαι [5]). With this general significance the **gher-* derivatives in Greek more obviously

[1] *La formation des noms en grec ancien*, revised edition (Paris, Klincksieck, 1968), p. 12.

[2] *Idem.*

[3] Cf. above, pp. 55-58.

[4] Cf. above, p. 44.

[5] Cf. above, p. 56.

relate to their cognate in Sanskrit, the verb *hṛ* 'bring, take, station.' χῶρος retained the more general meaning 'place,' while χορός was specialized to refer only to a 'dancing place.' [1]

Elsewhere I discuss the significance of χορός and *hṛ* in solar mythology; the argument for this significance in Greek epic (in which Indo-European solar mythology is a very ancient stratum, already faded by the Homeric era) is based primarily on the notion of the χοροί of Eos.[2] χῶρος too appears in collocation with solar themes. In the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* is a description of Helios' χῶρος, past which Apollo sails with the Cretans whom he kidnapped to become his Delphic priests:

πὰρ δὲ Λακώνιδα γαῖαν ἁλιστέφανον πτολίεθρον
ἷξον καὶ χῶρον τερψιμβρότου Ἠελίοιο,
Ταίναρον, ἔνθα τε μῆλα βαθύτριχα βόσκεται αἰεὶ
Ἠελίοιο ἄνακτος, ἔχει δ' ἐπιτερπέα χῶρον.
(*H. Ap.* 410-413)

Here Taenarus is a pleasant χῶρος where the flocks of Helios pasture.

The myth of the Sun's cattle/sheep [3] is latent both in this passage and in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*, where the cattle of Apollo (himself a sun-god who may have inherited some of the solar mythology originally associated with Helios) are likewise found in a χῶρος (*H. Her.* 393-394).

Apollo is connected with a χῶρος in several other contexts. In the *Hymn to Apollo*, he comes to Telphousa's χῶρος in his search for a cult home:

βῆς δ' ἐπὶ Τελφούσης· τόθι τοι ἅδε χῶρος ἀπήμων
τεύξασθαι νηόν τε καὶ ἄλσεα δενδρήεντα.
(*H. Ap.* 244-245)

We note the collocation of χῶρος with 'temple' and 'grove', reminiscent of Aphrodite's χῶρος in Sappho 2 LP. Later in the *Hymn*, Apollo selects his temple site and does away with its present inhabitant, the Pythian dragoness:

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[1] The association of words meaning 'dance' and 'place' has a typological parallel in two Old Hittite collocations, where the functionaries engaged in a ritual are said to 'dance' (*tarkuanzi*) in their 'place' (*pedi-šmi*). Cf. KBo XX 9.4′-5′ and KBo XX 26-18′-20′. For this information I am grateful to Professor Calvert Watkins of Harvard University.

[2] Cf. above, pp. 58-59.

[3] As attested in μ 322-323, RV 10.68.4.

. . . ἡ δ' ὀδύνῃσιν ἐρεχθομένη χαλεπῇσι
κεῖτο μέγ' ἀσθμαίνουσα κυλινδομένη κατὰ χῶρον.
(*H. Ap.* 358-359)

The temple at Delphi is again connected with a χῶρος, and also with the theme of singing and dancing, in *H. Ap.* 499-501, where Apollo orders his Cretan priests to go to the place (χῶρος) where his temple is, singing a paean. Soon follows the passage where they carry out his orders:

ἄκμητοι δὲ λόφον προσέβαν ποσίν, αἶψα δ' ἵκοντο
Παρνησὸν καὶ χῶρον ἐπήρατον, ἔνθ' ἄρ' ἔμελλον
οἰκήσειν πολλοῖσι τετιμένοι ἀνθρώποισι·
δεῖξε δ' ἄγων ἄδυτον ζάθεον καὶ πίονα νηόν.
(*H. Ap.* 520-523)

The idea of a sacred dance at Parnassus (a typical feature in the worship of Apollo and Dionysus there[1]) seems to be implied in the procession of Apollo and his priests to the χῶρος and the temple. At least χῶρος in this hymn is closely associated with the cult places of Helios and (derivatively?) of Apollo, as it is with Aphrodite's lovely spot in Sappho 2 LP.

A χῶρος as a place of worship is also associated with Aphrodite in the Homeric corpus. Thinking that she must be a goddess or a nymph, although she insists on her mortal nature, Anchises tells Aphrodite that he will build her an altar περιφαινομένῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ (*H. Aph.* 100).

A χῶρος of a different sort is found in connection with both Helios and Apollo in the *Iliad*. Despite Achilles' wrathful maltreatment of Hector's body, Aphrodite and Apollo protect it from decomposition. Apollo's role is to ward off the sun:

τῷ δ' ἐπὶ κυάνεον νέφος ἤγαγε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
οὐρανόθεν πεδίονδε, κάλυψε δὲ χῶρον ἅπαντα
ὅσσον ἐπεῖχε νέκυς, μὴ πρὶν μένος ἠελίοιο
σκήλει' ἀμφὶ περὶ χρόα ἴνεσιν ἠδὲ μέλεσσιν.
(Ψ 188-191)

Here Helios is associated with the χῶρος where a body lies. (Possibly there is a secularization of this theme of 'shrivelling' by the sun in η 122-124, where Alcinous' grapes are exposed to the sun in a χῶρος.) Homeric epic frequently attests the collocation of

[1] Cf. Pausanias 10.4.3.

νέκυς with χῶρος (or χῶρα), cf. K 199 = Θ 491: ἐν καθαρῷ, ὅθι δὴ νεκύων διεφαίνετο χῶρος, of a place clear of bodies; P 394 of Patroclus' corpse (νέκυν) pulled back and forth ὀλίγῃ ἐνὶ χώρῃ. (Cf. also Ψ 138: οἱ δ' ὅτε χῶρον ἵκανον, of the place where Patroclus' body is brought.) In the *Nekyia* passage of the *Odyssey*, the formula may be attested in its original context. Teiresias asks Odysseus why he has come to the land of the dead:

> Διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,
> τίπτ' αὖτ', ὦ δύστηνε, λιπὼν φάος ἠελίοιο
> ἤλυθες, ὄφρα ἴδῃ νέκυας καὶ ἀτερπέα χῶρον;
>
> (λ 92-94)

Although the terms νεκυ- and χῶρος-ν occupy the same metrical slots in Θ 491, K 199, and λ 94, the formula is more closely and naturally connected with the context in the *Nekyia* passage than in the other collocations of νέκυς and χῶρος, where the idea of a 'space free of corpses' is at least somewhat hyperbolic.

Whereas the *Nekyia* version may retain the full formula with its original significance, it has split into two separate sub-formulas in other attestations. The first is the νέκυς/χῶρος pattern discussed above. The second sub-formula is the phrase ἀτερπέα χῶρον (η 279, of the rocky Phaeacian coast where Odysseus was almost washed ashore). In a similar formula, in which the common syllables also occupy the same metrical position, Helios' pasture land at Taenarus is called ἐπιτερπέα χῶρον (*H. Ap.* 413). This parallel use of ἀτερπής and ἐπιτερπής suggests the ambiguity of the χῶρος, connected with the sun's beneficent and maleficent powers, with the gloomy land of the dead and the delightful home of a god.

The Vedic **gher-* derivative, *hṛ*, is also associated with the place of the dead, in terms of a 'restoration' from death, as in a Vedic prayer for relief from a disease:

> Even if he has already gone very near to death, out of the lap of destruction I bring (*harami*) him. I redeem him for life to last a hundred autumns . . .
>
> I have brought him back (*aharsham*) so that for a hundred autumns Indra may lead him safe to the other side of all danger . . .
>
> So I have brought you back (*aharsham*), I have found you. You have come back, new-born . . .
>
> (RV 10.161.2, 3, 5)

In Indic mythology, the dead are often said to go to the Sun.[1] The place from which this mortally ill person is 'brought back,' therefore, may be the same as the place from which the sun rises. Thus in Vedic traditional poetry as in Greek, the **gher-* derivatives are connected with the 'place' both of the sun and of death.

Hesiodic epic, too, preserves a tradition connecting the **gher-* root with the land of death. In the *Theogony,* the Styx is said to spout up from the underworld through a rocky place, κατακαστυφέλου διὰ χώρου (806). Here again the χῶρος is a point of contact between mortal and immortal life. Tartarus, the distant place to which the Titans were banished, is also a χῶρος (*Theogony* 731). The confusion in the cosmology in the passage is due in part to the poet's description of Tartarus as both under and at the ends of the earth (717-720, 731). χῶρος, we note, is attested with the latter location, πελώρης ἔσχατα γαίης (*Theogony* 731).

This collocation is significant in implying a connection between the place of death (Tartarus) and the place of the sun. For near this χῶρος stands the house of Day and Night, where these two goddesses pass each other on their way to or from the world (*Theogony* 744-757).

The place of the dead visited by Odysseus was also at the edge of the world, across Okeanos (conceived of as the stream encircling the earth):

> νῆα μὲν ἔνθ' ἐλθόντες ἐκέλσαμεν, ἐκ δὲ τὰ μῆλα
> εἰλόμεθ'· αὐτοὶ δ' αὖτε παρὰ ῥόον Ὠκεανοῖο
> ἤομεν, ὄφρ' ἐς χῶρον ἀφικόμεθ', ὃν φράσε Κίρκη.
> (λ 20-22)

This χῶρος, bereft of the light of the sun (λ 93), suits the conception of a place under the earth. The description of Odysseus' journey across Okeanos, however, implies that he has gone *beyond* the earth rather than beneath it, to a realm not unlike the χῶρος of the Hesiodic Tartarus.

This sense of χῶρος is latent in another Odyssean passage whose origins in solar mythology are widely recognized.[2] Odysseus describes his approach to the land of the Cyclopes (significantly, he arrives at dawn, cf. ι 170-171):

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[1] A. A. MacDonnell, *The Vedic Mythology,* p. 167.
[2] Cf. above, p. 60 n. 1.

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸν χῶρον ἀφικόμεθ' ἐγγὺς ἐόντα,
ἔνθα δ' ἐπ' ἐσχατιῇ σπέος εἴδομεν ἄγχι θαλάσσης,
ὑψηλόν, δάφνῃσι κατηρεφές. ἔνθα δὲ πολλὰ
μῆλ', ὄιές τε καὶ αἶγες, ἰαύεσκον . . .
(ι 181-184)

The scene abounds in details connected with the abode of the Sun in Vedic and Greek poetry: a cave (σπέος) at the end (of the earth? cf. ἐσχατιῇ) near the sea (θαλάσσης may be a replacement of Okeanos in this description of the journey) with many flocks (μῆλ'). Here again is a χῶρος at the edge of the world which is connected latently with both the sun's home and the land of death.[1]

The Hesperides too live beyond Okeanos in the far West, and have charge of sacred μῆλα:[2]

Ἑσπερίδας θ', ᾗς μῆλα πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο
χρύσεα καλὰ μέλουσι φέροντά τε δένδρεα καρπόν.
(*Theogony* 214-215)

The names of the Hesperides also suggest their origins in solar mythology: Aigle, Erythera, and Hesperethousa.[3] Appropriately, Mimnermus 10.8 refers to their home as a χῶρος.

In summary, there seems to be much evidence from traditional poetry for accepting Chantraine's proposed etymology for χορός and χῶρος. The use of χῶρος to refer to 'solar' and 'death' places is parallel to several of the contexts of *hṛ* in the *Rig Veda*,[4] indicating that the **gher-* root was used for the ambiguous place of sunrise/sunset/entrance to the place of death. χορός likewise has uses similar to *hṛ*, especially in the concept of the Dawn's χοροί. *Hṛ* is also attested in contexts of singing and dancing,[5] giving the **gher-* derivative in Sanskrit a further connection with the Greek term χορός.

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[1] For the solar mythology underlying the Cyclops story in the *Odyssey*, cf. especially Douglas Frame, *The Origins of Greek* ΝΟΥΣ, pp. 73-81.

[2] The standard interpretation of μῆλα in this myth is 'apples,' but the meaning 'sheep' may have originally been associated with this story. Cf. Diodorus Siculus 4.26.2-4.

[3] These are the Hesperides' names given by Hesiod, according to Servius on Vergil, *Aeneid* 4.484. Apollonius of Rhodes calls them Hespere, Erytheis, and Aigle (*Arg.* 4. 1427-1428); to this list Apollodorus adds Arethusa (*Lib.* 2.5.11).

[4] Cf. above, pp. 60-61.

[5] Cf. above, p. 62.

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